

Coordinated Investigation of
Micronesian Anthropology
1947-1949
Political & actionalism in Palau
FINAL REPORT of A J Vidich
Pacific Science Board
National Research Council
N7-onr-291: T O IV & Viking Fund Inc

COORDINATED INVESTIGATION OF MICRONESIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

operates with financial assistance from
Contract N7-onr-291, Task Order IV
between

THE OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH

and

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

CIMA field work was conducted in Guam and in islands of the Trust Territory in Micronesia (1947-49) with transportation and facilities contributed by the Navy Department. Studies in anthropology as well as human and economic geography were carried out in cooperation with universities, museums, and research institutions under this project of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, aided by financial assistance from the Viking Fund and other private sources.

CIMA Report No. 23

POLITICAL FACTIONALISM IN PALAU

Its Rise and Development

by
Arthur J. Vidich

June
1949

Author's Note

This report is submitted in fulfillment of the author's obligations to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. It is an attempt to analyze a specific occurrence - the development of political factionalism - in Palau. As such, it does not pretend to present a total view of Palau culture. It is hoped, however, that an understanding of this phenomenon will assist the local administration to a better comprehension of an important aspect of Palau. Chapter one is a theoretical discussion which states the problem and sets the framework within which the problem is handled. Chapter two includes a brief construct of Palau culture, as of the year 1890, which acts as a springboard for the chapters which follow. Chapter three is designed to indicate the significant changes in the Palau social system and culture which result from almost sixty years of foreign influence. Chapter four offers a description and analysis of the various historical and contemporary factions found in Palau, and the concluding chapter attempts to analyze those factors which contribute to the development of factions in Palau with particular reference to the contemporary situation.

First of all, the author wishes to express his thanks to the Pacific Science Board for making the field work possible, and to Dr. John Useem for securing his appointment to the project and for giving valuable assistance in the field. To the other members of the project he is also greatly indebted - to Robert Ritzenthaler for his insistence on painstaking, detailed and accurate field work; to Francis Mahoney for his creative insight into Palau life and his intuitive understanding of the psychology of the Palau people; and to Harry Uyehara, the one person without whom the field work could not have been completed, for many hours of interpreting and self-sacrifice and, most of all, for sharing with the author his ability to achieve the complete confidence of the Palau people.

Furthermore, the author wishes to acknowledge and publicly thank the United States Navy for its unbounded hospitality and consistent courtesy throughout the period spent in the field. In all cases Naval facilities were freely placed at the disposal of the research team. Specific thanks are due to Commander L.M. Duke, then associated with the Trust Territory office on Guam, for the detailed care and complete cooperation extended in outfitting the group with field equipment and for his many other courtesies which made the stay on Guam both comfortable and enjoyable. Commander C.M. Hardison, Governor of Palau, placed at our disposal the facilities under his command and unstintingly satisfied our many needs upon request. Warm and special thanks are extended to Lt. Newel Cummings for pulling the group through many tight-spots. Most gratifying of all was the openness and forthrightness with which all Naval officials willingly discussed Trust Territory problems with the author. In all cases information was freely extended to the participants in the project. Lt. Frank Avila, then Native Affairs Officer on Palau, was most helpful in giving of his extensive and thorough knowledge of Palau.

To Mr. and Mrs. George Taggart, Pastor and Mrs. Wilhelm Fey, and the other American families on Palau, the author wishes to extend his

appreciation for their gracious hospitality, which was perhaps unduly exploited by the team. The author's Palau informants, whose names should best remain anonymous, are due thanks for willingly giving their time, knowledge, and insight into their own culture.

Also, the author would like to extend his appreciation to Dr. Douglas Oliver of Harvard for hours of discussion devoted to formulating an outline for the report. And lastly to my wife, Virginia Wicks Vidich, I owe thanks for her help in formulating the problem and for her proof-reading of the manuscript. Needless to say, the author assumes full responsibility for the final form and content of the report.

Arthur J. Vidich.

Cambridge, Massachusetts
June 20, 1949.

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Chapter I

Theoretical Orientation

General Orientation

Treatments of nativist and messianic movements have heretofore regarded these phenomena as a type of social response of a culture to an acculturation situation which may be described as one in which a superordinate - subordinate relationship exists between two cultural groups. At least two scientists¹ suggest that social, cultural, or physical deprivation may be or are usually correlated with the nativist or messianic response.

The writers mentioned above have usually so narrowly defined their problem so as to exclude other simultaneous responses in the given society or have simply failed to perceive the fact that an acculturation situation may give rise to a series of responses, amongst differing elements in a society, to a particular situation.

Another group of observers have noted correctly the widespread occurrence of factionalism in non-literate societies and have usually recognized the role of acculturation in influencing the development of this phenomena. These writers have not, however, viewed the phenomenon of factionalism as alternative ways of various groups within a society responding to an acculturation situation. The analysis has usually been in terms of the inability of the members of the society to "pull together" in a situation of malintegration.

It is the intention of this report to view nativist and messianic movements as only one aspect of factionalism resulting from an acculturation situation in which cultural alternatives are presented to the society and various groups react differentially to these alternatives. Thus the nativist or messianic response is usually associated with resistance to change and a desire to return to the status quo of some previous period - or to develop a new order based on romantic conceptions of the past. Other groups in the society may, however, be in direct opposition to the tenets of the nativist movement and be desirous of incorporating new foreign elements within the social situation and moving forward along new lines of cultural development. In this sense, then, various elements in the society may respond differentially to the same alternatives which gives rise to a situation of political factionalism.

Political factionalism may be said to exist when 1) groups in a society are competing for political power because they are in disagreement as to either the values, ends or means of achieving those ends for the society as a whole and 2) individuals in a society are competing for power because of their personal desires to hold power, per se, even though these

(1) See Bernard Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements"; American Soc. Review, Vol. VI, No. 5, 1941, pp. 663-668, and Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in The Formation of The Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation" in Fred Eggan, Social Anthropology of North American Tribes.

individuals may not be in disagreement concerning the values, ends or means of achieving these ends for the society as a whole. According to this two-fold definition, no society could be characterized as being wholly without factionalism. It is necessary, however, to make such a definition in order to properly delimit the various types of situations in which factionalism might occur.

Those situations in which factionalism is present may be typed as follows:

1) Factionalism as rivalry of individuals within the ruling élite.

Every society exhibits competition for power due to the personal desires of individuals. In this case, however, factionalism may be only confined to the legitimate power structure of the social system. Thus various societies delegate legitimate authority to a ruling group - the elite - and struggles for dominant power positions may occur within this elite whose members are nevertheless committed to basically the same value orientation or perceive societal goals in the same way. Most totalitarian states fall within this category, plus the ancient dynasties of Greece, China, Egypt, etc.

2) Factionalism as functional to the social system.

Many Western societies hold as a common value the legitimacy of factionalism between various groups in the society whose values, goals and means of achieving these goals differ. This type of factionalism is viewed as a mechanism of the system itself and a change in this going system would produce a crisis. A democracy may be cited as characteristic of this type in which the structure of the system is such as to permit various groups to compete for power on the basis of differing values, means and ends. However, this "functional factionalism" which implies the right to disagreement and minority opinion may be a serious disintegrating factor in the society, especially if the cleavages between large groups became too steep and if the central catalytic values which previously integrated the system are called into question by an important faction, thus creating what might be termed "dysfunctional factionalism". In a situation of functional factionalism one, of course, would also find a considerable amount of personal power seeking without reference to ideology.

3) Factionalism as dysfunctional to the social system.

This type of factionalism (and the difference between the two is only a matter of degree) may be characterized as one in which the groups competing for power because of differing value premises, hold in question the central tenets of the society, and thus turn the factionalism against the going system. Such a situation usually develops when alternative choices confront a society as a result of certain internal or external forces impinging on the society. The following situations are examples of how such alternatives develop: unorthodox abuse of power by those elements defined as the legitimate focus of authority, thus causing social, cultural or material deprivation to certain groups; natural catastrophe such as flood, fire, earthquake, etc., which alters certain crucial aspects of the social system (mode of subsistence, functionally important institutions, customs, etc.) in such a way as to impair the previous integration

of the system and to precipitate alternative modes of reacting to the changed status quo; and, contact with other cultures which undermines the balance of power, imposes changes on former institutions and customs, etc. Such situations are illustrations of how alternative choices may develop and alter the previous functional integration of the society.

This paper, then, will focus on the development of the type of dysfunctional factionalism which arises as a result of the presentation of alternative choices in an acculturation situation involving nonliterate and Western nations. When cultural alternatives impinge on these nonliterate societies, which we may assume were integrated systems previous to the contact, factionalism that is disruptive of the system may or may not develop. Two variables are operative in determining whether dysfunctional factionalism will occur: 1) the nature of the contact situation, including the conditions under which the alternatives are presented to the native society and 2) the nature of the indigenous culture - its patterns and configurations, structure of its social system, motivational patterns - to which the alternatives are presented.

These two variables define the situation as one in which a certain type of mutual adaptation must occur between a given and an impinging cultural system. The following discussion will consider some of the specific factors that are determining influences in governing the mutual adaptation of the two systems in contact in which dysfunctional factionalism is one type of response. They will be grouped according to the nature of the contact and the nature of the indigenous culture.

Nature of Contact Situations

Certain quantitative aspects of the contact situation are operative in determining the way in which alternatives are presented.² The greater the number of lines or points of contact, the greater the likelihood that new influences will make themselves felt. New influences can hardly be felt where rough terrain, poor communications or weak central administration make for isolation and ignorance of new alternatives. Almost all nonliterate societies have come under some Western contact prior to their being studied by the social scientist and this fact means that some change will have occurred because of the mere presence of strangers or awareness of alien ideas and customs. Some response to certain alternatives must have already occurred.

The quantitative significance of contact is also affected by the presence of cities or areas to which the foreigner is naturally attracted, i.e., the seat of a central government, chiefs recognized as dominant in the society as a whole. New-comers tend to precipitate to these focal points and these points act as distribution centers and sources for change for the outlying regions.

(2) See Wilbert E. Moore, "Theoretical Aspects of Industrialization", *Social Research*, Vol. 15, 1948, pp. 277-303.

The influence of a foreign culture will also be greater if the contact is continuous and permanent rather than transitory or sporadic; it will also be greater or less depending upon the sheer number of foreigners impinging on the native culture. Thus if traders are few in number, contacts will be more transitory and have less effect and influence in presenting cultural alternatives; whereas a foreign group, interested in colonizing or industrializing, will send large numbers of people and the interest of the foreigner will be such as to make for a lasting and continuing influence.

The qualitative aspects of the contact situation, however, contain the real substance of the problem of the nature of the context in which the alternatives are presented. From the point of view of the foreign culture this will concern the cultural characteristics involved in the contact, the agents that represent the foreign culture and the methods of imposition and persuasion employed. These three characteristics are always present in any concrete situation of acculturation and, it must be mentioned, can only be separated out for analytical purposes.

It is impossible for entire cultures to be in contact. It is therefore important to focus on those aspects of a foreign culture which are relevant in the contact situation. In addition to this, of the total alternatives presented by a foreign culture, not all will be received in the same way. No native society accepts uncritically all that is presented to it. Furthermore, certain traits in the process of acceptance will have their form, content or meaning altered by the receiving group. Certain cultural elements may be intrinsically more transplantable, but this is yet an unsettled issue among students of acculturation. But it can be said that simple elements are more likely to be accepted than complex ideas or religions. Thus the first bridge between two cultures are usually in the nature of ornaments and useful tools. It can hardly be stated categorically, however, that certain traits, elements or characteristics are particularly susceptible to transference.

One of the important factors in determining which alternatives will have an influence is the nature of the agents which represent the foreign culture. In the history of the influence of Western civilization on other cultures a specific series of agents have been the cultural representatives. These agents may be missionaries, interested in imposing Christian ideals and morals on the pagan natives, and therefore, focusing on the native religion and those aspects of the culture which fall under the rubric of Western morality; the trader, interested in commercial possibilities, who focuses on certain aspects of the economic and political structure which are relevant to his goal of acquiring useful goods; the lone migrant, interested in integrating himself into the native structure, who inevitably introduces new ideas or may disrupt certain power relationships due to his own value orientation and goal structure; large groups of colonizers who will immediately focus on the acquisition of land and therefore impinge on traditional modes of land distribution and tenure; industrialists who focus on land, resources and the labor market; or soldiers, and administrators who inevitably focus on certain aspects of native life and social structure such as native channels of authority, women, etc.

The nature of the alternatives presented will depend not only upon

the goals of these various agents but also on the effectiveness of the specific agents in question in implementing these goals. Then, too, any of a variety of these agents may be present at a given time and therefore offer contradictory choices. Or they may appear on the native scene in a certain sequence, each leaving its own unique effect and each facing an indigenous culture which was previously affected and changed by some former agent.

Nor can the content of Western culture itself be held as a constant. Shifts in the international balance of power over the past two centuries have allocated and reallocated certain areas of the world to various Western nations. The agents of each of these nations differ in certain respects from other western nationals. The fact of differing languages, the difference between the English civil servant and the German bureaucrat account for yet another order of complexity when Western culture impinges upon non-literate societies.

In extending their ways on the native community the foreign agent may exhibit a variety of methods ranging from inaction - no conscious effort at change - to the whole process of direct and indirect coercion for the purposes of implementing certain programs. Certainly the impact of Western civilization has been registered along the whole continuum from inaction to force on the part of the agent. The methods employed to implement change do not in themselves, however, determine the effectiveness of imposing change. Non-forceful methods as well as pure chance may set in motion a whole series of interrelated changes in the social structure of the native community. Forceful methods may be effective, so long as continued force is applied, in eventually producing the desired results. The use of force may also produce reactions against that force: resistance, violence or a pseudo - cooperation.

Any contact situation may be characterized by any combination of such factors as, for example, colonizers buttressed with the authority of an administrative agency which upsets land tenure practices, the introduction of a foreign currency, the occurrence of intermarriage, the employment of individuals in the native population, etc. Each situation under analysis must account for those crucial aspects which impinge on the going system. The nature of the going system, however, represents the other, and equally important, side of the coin.

The Nature of Indigenous Social System

One of the few categorical statements that can be made about the interaction of two social or cultural systems is that the influence of the impinging system will always be dependent upon the nature of the indigenous system at the time of contact.³ Receptivity to new ideas, values or techniques is always conditioned by certain elements in the receiving system.

The degree of integration of the indigenous culture will in a

(3) Ibid, pp. 295.

broad way have a bearing on whether or not new influences will gain ready or more cautious acceptance. Integration is, of course, a relative matter and no system is completely disintegrated or by definition it could not exist. And likewise no society is wholly without elements of instability. Nevertheless, degrees of integration of a system over a period of time may vary and this fact is of importance in determining the receptivity to alternatives. Non-literate societies prior to contact may be regarded as integrated to a greater degree than those same societies after long years of continued contact.

Another factor of considerable importance is the degree and/or extent of the functional similarity between aspects of the indigenous system and the impinging system in determining receptivity. Thus a weapon such as a firearm may easily replace bows and arrows or spears. Or on a much higher level and consequently more difficult to establish, there may be functional similarities between the work ethic, the goal structure or the ethos of the two systems in contact. In some cases, specific similarities may be of crucial significance in instrumenting a whole series of subsequent unanticipated changes. Or functional similarities may be more apparent than real and an initial eager acceptance may cause a reversal to attitudes of rejection when the exact nature of the changes caused becomes apparent.

Functional similarity viewed in narrower terms has another aspect. This is the question of the compatibility of new alternatives with existing values and the structure of the social system itself. Thus in Palau an indigenous monetary system based on its own unique principles and functions was compatible in certain respects with the monetary systems of Western nations. In each case goods or services are involved in transactions, but the nature of the goods and services and the functioning of the total systems varies tremendously. Nevertheless there is a certain existing value orientation which is compatible in many respects to value orientation of Westerners towards money. The specific concepts associated with Western monetary systems may certainly be described as new alternatives, but yet they have a certain compatibility with the existing values and structure of the indigenous system.

Class stratification is still another and many times most important factor in determining the response of a society to the presentation of cultural alternatives. If the stratification pattern is fixed and lines of authority operate effectively, it may be the select few who will determine which aspects of the foreigner will be accepted and which ones will be rejected. If a society has malcontents, deviant or other disaffected groups and lines of authority are weak, differential response to the alternatives presented is almost inevitable.

Role behavior may also be a significant factor in the problem of acceptance of cultural alternatives. If the institutionalized roles are no longer congruent with or functional to the changed social system, cultural expectations concerning role fulfillment will lose their validity. Those groups who find themselves "displaced" from the system can provide a nucleus for acceptance of new cultural alternatives.

But the contact situation is never one of two static entities in juxtaposition. Contact situations may be more adequately described as

reciprocal and cumulative processes of change in which the alternatives and responses to those alternatives themselves change in the process of contact. This presentation merely suggests some of the factors and conditions which may operate as variables in any given specific situation of contact between non-literate societies and Western nations. It by no means exhausts all the possibilities, but serves as an introduction to a consideration of the specific problem at hand.⁴

As mentioned previously, this report is concerned with a particular type of response, dysfunctional factionalism, to the presentation of cultural alternatives in an acculturation situation. Theoretically, at least three ideal types of response are possible when considering the society as a whole. These three possible responses are listed below:

- 1) All members of the society may accept uncritically most aspects of the alternatives presented and attempt to work within the framework of the imposed system.
- 2) All members of the society may uncompromisingly resist the alternatives offered and refuse to operate within the framework of the imposed system.
- 3) Sub-units within the society may react differentially to the new alternatives; some individuals may accept the new alternatives and view them as congenial to their ideological position and other individuals may reject the new alternatives and view them as uncongenial to their ideological position.

The Specific Situation Under Consideration

These three possible responses represent pure types and may not necessarily correspond to known empirical types. They are useful, however, in further delimiting the area of investigation which in this case is concerned with the third type - differential response to the foreign administration.

More specifically this paper focuses, on the response of dysfunctional factionalism, where key groups in a society hold different views of the central tenets of that society. The data are relevant to a particular social system - Palau, located in the Western Carolines - in contact with the United States administration in 1948. At this time three broad factions existed: one which was receptive to the American Administration, another which was antagonistic and a third which was ambivalent towards the administration. The basic issues involved in the ideological differences of these groups concerned the nature of family organization, the character of the indigenous system for allocating political power, the role of native money, and status definitions,

(4) For a more extended treatment of this whole area see Ibid and also Wilbert E. Moore, "Primitives and Peasants in Industry"; Social Research, Vol. 15, 1948, pp. 48-81.

including the qualities which determine the socially useful individual, etc.

These three sub-cultural responses did not, of course, arise only in direct response to the alternatives presented by the American Administration and without reference to the pre-existing structure of the native society. Each faction had its historical antecedents based on responses to previous contact situations. The specific responses of the three groups in question are further determined by the specific goals of the foreign administration.

Historically, Palau has had long periods of contact with other cultural groups. This contact is of crucial significance in determining the specific content of the ideological base of the three factions and their response to the American Administration. These contact situations are briefly characterized as follows:

- 1) Spain, 1890 - 1900, viewed Palau as a missionaries' frontier and focused on native religion, morality and warfare.
- 2) Germany, 1900 - 1914, viewed Palau as a traders' frontier and focused on native production methods and social controls.
- 3) Japan, 1914 - 1945, viewed Palau as a colonial and industrial frontier and generally focused on the native power structure, land distribution, education, morality, etc.
- 4) United States, 1945 to present, viewed Palau as a strategic frontier and focused on returning Palau to its "indigenous" culture while maintaining a non-violent situation.

Each period imposed certain changes in the social structure which altered the situation confronted by the following administration. That is, alternatives presented by the missionaries altered the social and institutional structure in certain ways so that the traders were confronted by new elements in the system which partially determined the response of the native society to the alternatives presented by them.

The Problem and Procedure

The analysis of the specific nature of the contact situations (the type of alternatives and the conditions under which they are presented) and the cumulative effect which each contact with foreigners has had in disrupting the indigenous structure of Palau is reserved for Chapter Three. For the moment, it is sufficient to point out the theoretical focus of this paper in relation to the problem of the development of dysfunctional factionalism.

The problem which is posed for consideration involves the question of how the nature of the indigenous social system - institutional structure, cultural tradition and motivational patterns - and the type of alternatives and the conditions under which they are presented by the four foreign administrations interact so as to explain the

development of the present political factions in Palau. For analytical purposes it is necessary to divide the problem into two parts, which may be stated as follows:

- 1) What type of changes in the social system of Palau which would constitute necessary conditions for the development of factionalism result from the contact situation?
- 2) How do these social changes produced by the interaction of the native and foreign systems relate to the development of the specific factional groups in Palau today? In other words, the net effect of the social changes must be studied in so far as they relate to the problem of factionalism.

In order to answer both problems a certain procedure is necessary. To answer part one, we must have:

- a) A construct of the culture base-line - that is, Palau prior to contact. This must include a description of certain key institutions, statuses, roles, culture configurations and patterns which contributed to the integration of the indigenous culture, as of approximately 1890. Chapter two is designed to serve this function.
- b) A description of the alternatives presented under the Spanish regime and the social consequences which these alternatives had. This must be followed by an analysis of the alternatives presented in each of the succeeding colonial periods in relation to both the changes caused by the preceding period and the further changes which were affected. Chapter three presents this data.

Part two of the central problem requires this information:

- a) A historical analysis of the various factions which existed in Palau following contact with foreign systems. This would include an analysis of the composition of the groups and their leaders with their definition of the situation of action and those motivational patterns that seem structured by the institutional order and cultural tradition. Chapter four traces the development of Palau factions from 1890 to 1948.
- b) An analysis of the effects of the key social changes made in each of the four periods in so far as they relate to the development, composition and ideology of the various factions. Chapter five, the concluding chapter, is an attempt to explain the phenomenon of factionalism in Palau.

Such a complex procedure may seem cumbersome for deriving an explanation of political factionalism. But if a simplistic explanation is to be avoided - such as one that views the development of a particular faction only in terms of a reaction against a foreign administration - it is necessary to pose the problem in broader terms. Any attempt to arrive at a meaningful explanation of the presence and particular form of a

social movement, must take into account not only the response to the immediate stimuli but the social and cultural context which shapes in large degree the kind of response which is given.

For the purposes of analysis of this problem certain theoretical constructs are essential. It is proposed to use Talcott Parsons' concept of the social system as a method of analyzing the key factors which integrate the society and to locate crucial changes in relation to how they disturb the functioning integrative system. The initial assumption is that the indigenous society has some meaningful structure which integrates it as a functional whole. Of the functional prerequisites of a social system one lies in the problem of order "... in the problem of the coordination of the activities of the various members in such a way that they are prevented from mutually blocking each others action and, on the other hand, they are sufficiently geared in with each other so that they do mutually contribute to the functioning of the system as a whole. The second focus is on adequacy of motivation. The system can only function if a sufficient proportion of its members perform the essential social roles with an adequate degree of effectiveness."⁵

Severe tensions and stresses on the structure of that system would be expected to effect role and deviant behavior and consequently the formation of dissident political factions. This type of conceptual framework it is hoped will yield a more thorough and meaningful explanation of why this particular phenomenon of factionalism occurred in the particular way in which it did in Palau.

The definition of "social system" constitutes a major theoretical step in the analysis of any problem which is placed in the acculturation context and which focuses on both native inhabitants and foreigners. For certain considerations it is satisfactory and legitimate to consider the plurality of native inhabitants as constituting one social system and the foreign population within the same geographical confines as constituting another social system. When considered in this manner, the problem situation may be perceived as one in which social systems are in conflict, as social systems adapting to each other, etc. Accordingly, one thinks in terms of the degree of integration of each of the systems upon contact, the functional similarities in certain aspects of each of the systems. The compatibility of alternatives presented to the receiving system, etc.

The logical separation of the two systems (the mode of treatment utilized in the preceding section under the general treatment of the "indigenous" system) is commensurate with Parsons' definition of a social system which refers to a plurality of interacting individuals, as actors in logical situations, pursuing mutual and complimentary goals for their maintenance. For analytical purposes in respect to certain problems this conceptualization of a social system is not only useful but necessary.

(5) Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied, pp. 6 and 7. (1948) The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Another way of viewing a social system in the acculturation context is to extend the concept to include all interacting individuals, both native and foreign, as comprising a single social system. This involves the assumption that the native and foreign systems have become sufficiently fused and intermeshed so as to make any logical separation a total artificiality irrelevant to the empirical findings. In this analysis, specifically, the distribution of power and authority patterns and the structure of institutions and culture patterns motivating role behavior, it will be necessary to utilize this extended conceptualization of the social system as the on-going system in Palau in order to adequately analyze the occurrence of dysfunctional factionalism. The necessity will become obvious particularly in the consideration of events which occurred during the Japanese era in Palau when the native society was so skillfully blended into the context of Japanese life ways, that disruption of that system by the war and the American administration had serious consequences for the incidence of political factionalism. For example, the Japanese policy was to undercut the older men and chiefs of Palau and give new status to the younger men. When the Americans attempted to restore the "old order" to Palau the traditional chiefs resumed power and the status of younger men was reduced to that of the pre-Japanese period. This American policy, of course, caused considerable dissatisfaction among the youth who felt disenfranchised.

Analytical Components of the Social System

According to Talcott Parsons, the major conceptual components of the social system include 1) the structure of the situation; 2) the institutional structure; 3) the cultural tradition; and, 4) motivational forces and mechanisms.

The structure or "definition" of the situation may be first analyzed in terms of the point of view of the individual actor involved in the concrete situation. In his role of son, father, chief, priest, etc., institutional and cultural patterns define the goals he is expected to pursue, the means among which he may choose and sentiments and attitudes he should display. Thus for a study of factionalism it is necessary to take into account the particular vantage point from which members of the factional groups view their own situation - their roles, goals, and value orientation. Secondly, the structure of the situation must be considered from the point of view of the functioning of the social system as a whole. From this level the system may be examined in terms of the adequacy of institutional agencies in controlling the behavior of its members, and the congruence of the various parts of the structure with each other in order to fulfill the functional prerequisites of the social system.

For each period of contact with the foreigners, such a preliminary analysis of the situation both from the point of view of the factional groups and from the system viewed as a whole must be attempted.

The Institutional Structure

In Parsons' terms the institutional structure of a social

system is "the totality of morally sanctioned statuses and roles which regulate the relations of persons to one another through locating them in the structure and defining legitimate expectations of their attitude and behavior."⁶ The principal function of institutional patterns may be said to define the situation of action, the action and attitudes legitimately expected of people. And, to quote Parsons again, "the significance of a situation is never simply given in its intrinsic 'nature', rather a selection is made of those aspects which are functionally related to the particular orientations, values, interests, and sentiments of the person."⁷ Thus in Palau, for example, a powerful chief will define the situation of acceptance of Christianity or Western currency according to the role he plays in the system, whereas another person, outside of the traditional power structure will define the situation in terms of his own value, incumbent on his particular status in the society.

The concept of institutional structure, however, implies an "organization of action around sufficiently stable patterns so that it may be treated as structured from the point of view of the system."⁸ It will be recalled that this analysis takes place in the context of rapid social change where institutions (patterned expectations defining proper or legitimate behavior of persons playing certain roles) are seen to change in varying degrees due to a variety of forces. Certain institutions may be forcibly altered or destroyed, others may be modified fortuitously. Because the institutions are intermeshed and integrated an alteration, for instance, affecting the status of religious priests, has grave consequences for the status of political chieftain. In a dynamic situation changing institutional patterns will also effect the definition of the situation from the point of view of the actor. Traditional value orientations may be swept aside by the changing events and the person is left to find other more meaningful goal orientations, often seizing the definition given by the foreigner or nativist leader which fits his altered status in the society and his particular state of mind.

The method of analysis, for examining structure, will be to delineate certain crucial institutional patterns as they existed in pre-contact Palau and to indicate the manner in which these institutions were changed, destroyed, or persisted. The institution of warfare, for example, was repressed as a result of both missionary efforts and the desires of certain political chiefs. The latter attempted to crystallize the balance of political power, as of the period during which their political districts were supreme, and this freezing of the political status quo had repercussions on an otherwise fluid power situation of which warfare was the agent for change. The warfare pattern was structurally significant to an extreme degree as evidenced by its relationship to power distribution, the status of women, economic wealth, etc. (captive women could only secure their return through the payment

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 276.

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 278.

(8) *Ibid.*, pp. 7.

of large sums of native money to the victorious district). The redistribution of power, the change in status of women and lesser chiefs and changes in economic structure which were set in motion as a result of the abolition of warfare had far reaching consequences in explaining the specific form of factionalism which developed.

Alterations in other institutions such as institutionalized concubinage, men's clubs, education of young, etc. were also crucial factors contributing to the development of malintegration of the social system and changes, such as these, will be analyzed as a result of the interaction of the indigenous social system with the impinging foreign system.

One phenomenon which stands out as especially pertinent, and which necessitates the conception of a single social system comprising both the native society and foreigner, is the formation of an institution which mediates between the indigenous and impinging system. It is the formation of a unique set of power relationships necessary for the functioning of the two groups in contact. This institution of "power mediaries" has the task of attempting to integrate the two systems sufficiently well so that they may constitute a single social system, with proper coordination and control of the activities of the various members. Since the two systems in contact are not on an equitable power relationship the foreigners attempt to control the situation so as to make the native system subordinate to them or at least to change the indigenous system so that it will conform to the foreign administration's plans. These "power mediaries" who are chosen from the native society to help accomplish this task often represent deviant and dissatisfied elements in the native system, eager for the new status with its added power and authority.

This institution first appeared in Palau during the German era and it was also at this time that the first evidences of factionalism occurred. The power mediaries were heavily controlled by the foreigners and became both a target for resentment and a rallying point for various of the native groups - depending on their definition of the situation. The consideration of this institution will shed much light on the problem of factionalism, especially in relation to its specific form over a period of time, and its specific nature in present day Palau.

Status

Institutional structure, as defined, necessitates some remarks on the function of status and role concepts. Any explanation of the development of factionalism concerns changes in the patterned relations which individuals have to other individuals and to other groups. This involves utilization of the concept of status. According to Parsons, the term status refers to the "complex of mutual rights, obligations and functions as defined by the pertinent ideal patterns"⁹

(9) Ibid., pp. 42.

which inhere in a particular position, such as father, wife, chief, etc. "The term particularly implies that the holder of a particular station performs an activity not in any immediate sense because of any attribute of his personality, but simply on account of the position occupied in the social system as a whole. Status then has three basic components: rights, obligations, and expected performance (or role aspects)."¹⁰

In this analysis, which assumes Palau to be a relatively stable and integrated social system prior to contact, certain crucial statuses will be described to the closest approximation possible as they existed prior to contact. This will form the basis for further consideration of the consequences of certain changes in status for the development of factionalism. In indigenous Palau, for example, the status of chief was associated with certain legitimate claims which he might make on others, such as social deference, payment of produce, obedience to legitimately defined orders, etc. The status of chief was also subject to the demands of others in certain respects; providing for destitute members of his political unit, offering gifts and making contributions on certain occasions commensurate with his rank in the social hierarchy, the assumption of responsibility for the criminal acts of members of his political unit against members of other political units. This status also carried with it obligations for the performance of certain functions such as formal relations with other political units, the initiation of warfare, the performance of certain duties in political councils, etc. The rights, duties and obligations of this status were balanced in such a way as to make for a minimization of conflict between the status of chief and other statuses. The changes brought by the contact situation destroyed to a certain extent the duties and obligations of this status, but did little to alter its rights. This then forms a central basis for potential dissatisfaction and for the formation of dissident groups who strive to compete for the power of the chiefs.

The status of young married males may be analyzed in the same way. In this case, however, the duties and obligations of this status were retained to a high degree and the rights originally associated with this status were destroyed, due to the chain of reactions caused by the contact situation. These statuses have been offered as examples because they bear a crucial significance in the development of factions, and, along with changes in other statuses which play significant roles in relation to this problem, are analyzed more fully in the following chapters.

Role

Role, as defined by Parsons "is the dynamic aspect of status, the behavior counterpart of the ideal or expected position defined by a status."¹¹ The term role is applicable to any behavior expected of

(10) Ibid, pp. 43.

(11) Ibid, pp. 11.

the incumbent of a particular status. This includes both the defense of his rights of his status and the functional aspects of his role, i.e., the expectation of specific functional performances. Functional role behavior is necessary for knitting the individuals into a social fabric, where each individual has specific functions to perform which are essential to the welfare and happiness of other persons.

"Role, as the behavioral aspect of status, furnishes the link between the ideal and behavioral patterns of a society. Each definition of a status includes that of an expected role."¹² However, in a dynamic situation alterations in the functional role of a status will seriously affect the particular status position. For example, when the task of educating the Palau youth was assumed by the Japanese, the status of maternal uncle was thereby changed since he previously had had certain obligations toward educating his sisters' children. With the loss of this responsibility, there was a consequent loss of direct control over his charges. The control of the biological father was proportionately increased. Thus by undercutting his traditional functional role, the status position (and its incumbent prestige) of the maternal uncle was reduced. Since this was a particularly powerful status, however, the occupants of these statuses were successfully able to redefine their role in relation to their sisters in such a way as to acquire a new type of control and power. This was done by making excessive demands for money from his sisters whose loyalty in the consanguinal family system was always to her brothers' household.

The degree of discrepancy between the expected and actual role performance is of significance in determining the extent to which status positions have changed. And, for a study of political factionalism, these discrepancies which are not culturally patterned or which violate patterns furnish the basis for formation of new role behavior attune with changing situations.

The concept of role, in a situation of social change, is in two respects particularly important for this analysis. In the first place, there is the general tendency for persons to defend the rights associated with their status, an aspect of role behavior. In the case of the chiefs, mentioned previously, role behavior has been successfully centered on those aspects of that status connected with its rights. This meant that the chiefs were preoccupied with demands for the performance of certain deference patterns which were to some extent no longer functional, and also, concerned with the imposition of heavy obligations upon other individuals and groups which would enhance the status of chieftain.

In the second place, there is a tendency for persons, dissatisfied with the distribution of prestige for the various statuses (Max Weber's concept of status honor) to establish new prestige rankings which supercede the traditional status honor categories. Thus, in the case of the young married men there is a tendency to raise their own status by placing high esteem on certain functional qualities such as education and business

(12) Ibid., pp. 43.

and mechanical abilities and to depreciate native skills, inherited chiefships, etc. The "educated" man hopes to command the respect reserved previously only for the chief by substituting new criteria for status honor.

Both of these aspects of role behavior, the defense of the rights (including prestige) of a status and the establishment of new norms for status honor lead to a variety of conflicts in social relationships which are significantly relevant for the development of factionalism. Administrative policies, as well as nativist appeals, will find their supporters accordingly as they fill the demands made by certain individuals or groups for what they define as legitimate role behavior.

The Cultural Tradition

The cultural tradition is an exceedingly broad and varied entity, and according to the particular anthropologist's viewpoint it is defined to include different elements. However, the theme of "social heredity" is a common element in the various concepts of culture. For the purposes of this paper the aspects of the cultural tradition which are most relevant include those normative ideas, patterns and configurations which govern the action of individuals and which weave through the fabric of the social structure.

Since institutionalized patterns consist of norms defining the proper or legitimate action expected of people, they are actually part of the cultural tradition. However, using the Parsonian schema, it seems wise to make the analytical distinction in terms of whether the ideal patterns or norms are institutionalized or not. There is, of course, a close functional relationship between the two as well as among the other elements of action. And, as Parsons states, "It is primarily through their involvement in the cultural tradition that institutionalized patterns are interwoven with the primary orientation systems of the members of a society, with their empirical and non-empirical 'beliefs', their moral values and the specific structuring of their goals and wishes."¹³

Clyde Kluckhohn's conceptual scheme for the analysis of "covert culture" is pertinent at this point. By "covert culture" he means those beliefs, values, and habit patterns of the culture of which the members of the society are unaware or only minimally aware. Two different analytical levels are distinguished for treating covert culture (as apart from overt culture, for instance, which deals with sanctioned and behavioral patterns as well as tools and objects). On the first level, he designates the term configuration for those unstated premises and assumptions which tend to be characteristic of members of a certain group. "A cultural configuration may be defined as a principle of the covert culture - either a way of doing a variety of things (a means) or an end (a culturally defined goal)."¹⁴ The second level of covert culture may be analyzed in terms of a key in-

(13) *Ibid.*, pp. 280.

(14) Clyde Kluckhohn, "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems", American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, 1943, pp. 218.

integrating principle of a culture "a single dominant master configuration ... or as "ethos of a society". These configurations and integrating principles are analytical abstractions. "They are principles which the investigator introduces to 'explain' connections between constellations of data which have no obvious connection in the world of direct observation. They start from data, and they must be validated by a return to the data, but they unquestionably rest upon extrapolations."¹⁵ In this report no attempt is made to derive the ethos of Palau. This constitutes a major problem in itself and therefore "configuration" is the only analytic category utilized.

In two important respects these configurations and key principles are relevant to an understanding of an acculturation situation. First, is the crucial role which culture configurations play in the definition of the situation of action. This system of implicit orientation and goals give sanctioned (i.e. institutionalized) and behavioral patterns their appropriate "meaning" in a concrete situation and provide psychological security for the believers. They help define the situation by providing a frame of reference for action, especially for those situations for which no institutionalized pattern exists. The configurations, then, are part of the social heritage of a group and shape to a large extent their manner of doing things and the goals for which they strive. These configurations may still persist even when the cultural context has changed considerably. Secondly, configurations and ethos are significant in assessing changes in a social system. These principles govern to a certain extent the structuring of certain institutional patterns and structures, and may serve as regulating principles for integrating the institutional structure.

In Palau, perhaps one of the most significant configurations which motivates socially acceptable and deviant behavior, is the prestige orientation of the culture. This takes a varied form in behavior including the performance of distinctive feasts, possession of exceptional knowledge (such as specializing in the knowledge of Palau currency) or controlling political power. Prestige is an implicit normative goal for which all Palauans strive, and explains in part their excessive interest in status rights, obligations and functions. Much of this behavior is thus directed with reference to its effects on others. In addition, the indigenous institutional structure, because of its fluidity, fostered this prestige striving. As a corollary to this prestige orientation there is the extreme emphasis on competition between individuals, clans or districts. It can be noted here a certain similarity in cultural orientation with that of the Western societies - competition, for example, which may in part explain Palau's ready acceptance of the foreigners as such.

Some of the interesting aspects of Palau acculturation - wide acceptance of Christianity, Western dress, technology, economic ideology - are not understandable unless this prestige and competitive configuration is taken into account. In the eyes of the Palauan the foreigner offers things which are deemed valuable, not so much for their own sake, but as instruments for attainment of prestige and influence, within their own society. Thus mass conversion to Christianity, for example, was a token gesture initially motivated by a chief's desire to break the power of

(15) *Ibid.*, pp. 216.

religious priests. This acceptance of the Catholic Church was followed by mass conversion of members of his clan and district for whom conversion to the new religion became a badge of prestige.

The explanation of why the configurations of prestige and competition have such a pervasive influence on the behavior of Palauans can not be found only on the psychological level, for example in terms of a Kardiner analysis of basic personality. An understanding of the intricate fluid structure of the social system itself - its institutional patterns, statuses and roles - would contribute substantially to a knowledge of this aspect of their modal personality and of their covert culture.

On a slightly higher level of abstraction one may distinguish two principles which to a certain extent govern the structuring of certain institutions and statuses in Palau. Although they do not constitute the ethos of the culture, they are integrating principles for the institutional structure. For example, although a series of institutions such as warfare, institutionalized concubinage, political organization and religion may be both structurally and functionally differentiated they all share a specific feature in common which allows for the abstraction of a regulating principle. This principle is simply postulated by the observer to account for structural similarities in a number of different concrete contexts.

One such principle is the conception of "opposing forces" which pervades many aspects of social and political organization. This is a principle equivalent to the system of checks and balances in the organization of our own federal government. Thus the status of chief, although imbued with great power, was opposed, if the abuse of that power occurred, by the status of certain religious dignitaries. These shamans held certain occult powers designed to check the abuse of the powers associated with the status of chief. Likewise clans, which formerly numbered twenty per district arranged in hierarchical order, were sub-grouped in consecutive pairs in opposition to each other. Cross-cutting the organization of clans were men's clubs, each of which drew membership from all the clans. These clubs constituted an organizational element designed to balance disintegrating conflicts occurring among clans. Finally, two major political entities, called confederations, each comprising approximately half the population, check each other, through their respective authorities, in actions which are potentially disruptive of a balanced power situation.

Another conception which pervades many aspects of Palau life is the conception of "reciprocity" which constitutes the regulating principle for the exchange of all gifts, economic goods and services. A gift given in the form of money at the time of a birth, marriage or death is carefully noted as to value and the giver is repaid in kind on the proper occasion. This configuration forms the implicit theoretical basis of an extensive series of exchange customs involved not only in the significant events in the life cycle but also in house building and boat building.

Both of these configurations or principles, opposing forces and reciprocity, tend to give a certain consistency to the workings of Palau society. When the forces of acculturation induce manifold social changes, the dominating principle loses some of its meaning in certain situations. Its effectiveness as an integrating force is reduced and inroads are made

on the balance in the structure of the culture which is based on these configurations. Thus the processes of social change may not destroy a configuration, but rather will delimit the sphere in which it operates and the configuration gives way in certain situations to other principles of organization which will govern systems of relationships or patterns of thinking. Thus the configuration of opposing forces, to take a specific instance, loses its operating effectiveness when the status of the religious digitary loses its functional significance as a result of inroads made in the native religion. The status of chief is no longer blocked in crucial instances and abuse of authority becomes possible to a degree hitherto unknown. Unchecked abuse of authority has ramifying influences in producing malcontents and dissatisfied groups.

Motivational Forces and Mechanisms

For a theory of social systems only those elements of motivation in psychological theory which deal with the motivation of typical or expected behavior in social roles, and those tendencies which motivate socially significant deviance are relevant. As Parsons has stated, "This psychological component does not constitute a set of assumptions which lie outside the system, but an indispensable component of the system itself.... They are both inextricably interlocked in the same body of analytical thinking in such a way that they are only analytically distinguishable."¹⁶

This aspect of the social system will be only treated peripherally, since the major part of the analysis will be concerned with the way in which the institutional structure and the cultural tradition influence the actors' definition of the situation so as to account for the development of factionalism. However, two psychological principles may be distinguished which may prove useful in the analysis. The first is the "reality principle" - that is, the motivation of action in response to situational influences and pressures and based on some rational assessment.¹⁷ One criterion of normality is sensitiveness to this reality principle. Behavior motivated by this mechanism would be directly responsive to the actual or potential alteration of the situation and the reaction would be appropriate to the change. In highly dynamic situations the result might be mass deviance from an established set of institutionalized roles and definitions of the situation, and acceptance of new values and definitions, which would constitute not only departures from the norm but also reactions to the changed "real" situation. This type of motivational analysis could account for certain aspects of the development of dysfunctional factionalism.

However, in contrast to the reality principle there are powerful non-rational mechanisms at work - e.g., projection, displacement, etc. - motivating behavior which is markedly deviant from empirical reality. Much of human action must be accounted for at this psychological level. Changing situations demand appropriate alterations in response and reaction patterns, but in situations of emotional stress it is not difficult for individuals

(16) Parsons, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

to distort the definition of the situation in such a way as to display exaggerated reactions to an interference with legitimate expectations or to a threat to their own physical or emotional security. To quote Parsons again, there is "an element of cognitive distortion in the definition of the situation and, emotionally, an "over-reaction", an intensity of effect which is out of proportion to what would be appropriate to the real situation ..."¹⁸ On the cognitive level, the normal person's rationalizations do not tend to build up cumulatively into more and more logically elaborated and "water tight" systems which are increasingly impervious to facts or institutionalized patterns, but tend to be corrected by reference to them.

For an analysis of the appeals of the various factional groups and their groups' respective effectiveness in recruiting membership and support, consideration should be given to both the rational and non-rational motivational mechanisms. In any social movement, both principles would seem to operate. A discussion of these two psychological mechanisms does not, of course, preclude the treatment of other aspects of motivation. The crucial role of the institutional order and the cultural tradition for providing acceptable motivational patterns has already been cited. Thus, for example, motivation may be based on culturally induced need patterns - as the desire for prestige - or it may be based on an individual's particular position in the social system. Unfortunately, the author's data allow for only cursory and inadequate consideration of the motivational factor and its inclusion in the main body of the report is not pursued in systematic fashion.

For the purposes of analysis of this problem, then, three levels of analysis are necessary. These are the cultural, social and individual. It must be said that the data does not, due to any inherent qualities, break itself into these categories. The three analytical levels represent abstractions from the same data looked at in different ways. It is hoped that this method will yield, in a sense, a three dimensional view of the problem of factionalism and thereby a more thorough and complete explanation of why this particular phenomenon occurred in the particular way in which it did in Palau.

(18) Ibid, p. 283.

Chapter Two

A Construct of Palau Culture

The initial step towards solving the problem of political factionalism in Palau is the establishment of a construct of Palau culture for the period immediately preceeding the advent of foreign domination. This construct will be established for the period as of approximately 1890. It is granted that a certain amount of acculturation had taken place prior to that period due to contact with certain traders, explorers and settlers such as O'Keefe, Cheney, and Gibbons. It is further granted that social change presumably occurred due to certain internal forces within Palau society itself. Thus such a construct merely represents an abstraction of certain relevant aspects of Palau culture which will then permit us some point of reference in attempting a solution to the stated problem of factionalism.

It is necessary to point out one further limitation of the particular construct. As stated in the theoretical discussion, our concern is with certain analytic categories; primarily, institutions (status, role) and cultural configurations. Hence the construct which is presented is focused on those analytical categories and does not presume to be a construct of the "whole" of Palau culture. It is selective in relation to both the specific problem and also the method for treating this problem.

Political Structure

The Confederation.

The total area of Palau, composed of five major islands (Babelthaup, Korrer, Keyangle, Feliliou and Anguar), is divided into two political entities which may be called confederations. Those confederations are further subdivided into districts and each district is under the jurisdiction of one of the two confederations. The two confederations are known as Korrer and Melekeok and the districts subsumed under each of these are as follows:

Korrer Confederation

Korrer
Ngeremlengui
Aimeliik
Ngetpang
Ngardeu
Airrai
Feliliou
Anguar

Melekeok Confederation

Melekeok
Tge'sar
Tgiwal
Ngarard
Nger'elong
Keyangle

The basic units in the structure of the confederations are the districts. These districts are arranged in hierarchical order, as presented above, and the district which enjoys the uppermost position in each confede-

ration represents the confederation in inter-confederation affairs. Thus in 1890 Korrer and Melekeok were the top districts and each represented one confederation. Due to the internal political structure of the districts, discussed more fully below, the chiefs of Korrer and Melekeok are confederation chiefs also and therefore are supreme not only in their district but also in their confederation. These two statuses of high chief, known as Reklai in Melekeok and Ibidul in Korrer, are the loci of the greatest political power in Palau.

The basis upon which a district should rank uppermost was determined by success in warfare, the amount of Palau money, and the strength of local gods. In the era prior to 1890, these rankings were not necessarily fixed. The vicissitudes of war and exchange and the cleverness of the earthly representatives of the gods (shamans) made these rankings highly fluid and transitory. At some point, early in the contact history, Korrer and Melekeok, however, were able to consolidate and crystallize the power situation. This was due partly to early acquisition of arms which gave them a superior position in warfare and consequent control of money. The religious determinant of district rank is not as yet a closed chapter in the political dynamics of Palau as we shall presently see.

The functional significance of the confederations in relation to each other was minimal at this period. Struggles for power between the two did not occur. The normative standards of the culture presumed each to be equally powerful and of equal status. This is partly shown by the fact that in the warfare pattern Reklai and Ibidul consorted with each other against a third district chief to enable either one or the other to enhance his own position within his own confederation.

However, within each of the confederations there has been a constant struggle between districts to achieve the highest position in the hierarchical ranking. The aspiration of the lowest district was to ascend a rung or two in the status ladder - a kind of pecking order; the greatest struggles occurred between those districts which ranked near the top. This factor of competitive prestige striving was conducive to political alignments between districts within each of the confederations. Thus, for example, Melekeok and Kayangle have considered themselves especially friendly toward each other and neither fears the overt aggression of one against the other. As a consequence the chiefs Reklai and Ibidul have spent a considerable amount of their role activity in defending their status against the aggressive strivings of chiefs of other districts within their confederation. This required finesse in the art of warfare and cunning in the manipulation of financial transactions.

The significant aspect of role behavior for the status of Reklai and Ibidul concerns those activities that serve to uphold and maintain that status within the confederation. And on the other hand, these status occupants have shown a minimal amount of role behavior involving rights, duties and obligations toward lesser chiefs representing other districts within the confederation.

The District

The structure of the internal organization of the district is predicated on both the clan and village organization. Therefore, let us

consider these substrata as a means for deriving the district organization.

Each district is composed of from 5 to 10 villages and within each village a separate political organization exists which is patterned after the district organization. The clan forms the basis of the political structure of both village and district, and clan status determines for an individual the availability of certain political statuses associated with formalized titles, as well as the opportunity and method for attaining them.

The Clan.

Each district is composed of a series of mother sibs or clans called *Kebliils*. The general structure of the relationships of clan to clan within a district is, for our purposes, similar enough between districts to allow us to take the clan structure of Melekeok as a typical example.¹ The clans of Melekeok are 21 in number and arranged in hierarchical order.¹

In the case of Melekeok the first eleven clans may be called "resident" clans, since Melekeok is considered their home territory which established for them certain special land rights and political prerogatives. Clans 12 through 22 are affiliated with ranking clans in other districts and are represented in Melekeok by only a small number of people. In the same way the Udes and Umerang clans have some of their members distributed within other districts and in those cases they are of secondary importance.²

For the political affairs of Melekeok, therefore, the first eleven clans are of primary importance. The rank of each is determined by historical migrations, ancestral and contemporary political intrigue, possession of money and relationship to various gods. By 1890, at least, this ranking had been fixed and the Udes clan enjoyed the number one position in the hierarchical order. Since by virtue of the fact that Melekeok ranked as the number one district in the confederation, the Udes clan was also the highest ranking clan in the confederation.

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- (1) The following is a list of Melekeok clans. The names of these clans and all the other clans in Palau were collected by Dr. John Useem.

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1) Udes | 12) Brulbei |
| 2) Umerang | 13) Lmii |
| 3) Luges | 14) Medengelei |
| 4) Mid | 15) Igeredes |
| 5) Igeruleong | 16) Gerdeu |
| 6) Krureu | 17) Ngere'ulsiang |
| 7) Ngerekungiil | 18) Ongor |
| 8) Igeremegeti | 19) Ngebardukal |
| 9) Tekau | 20) Ngoslokal |
| 10) Igeramedal | 21) Yblai |
| 11) Ibade'ang | 22) Metsui |

- (2) The term *Kebliil*, for clan, refers to all members resident within a district. Another term *Klebliil* refers to all members in a clan resident both within the home district of the clan and in other districts. *Klebliil* is the most inclusive term designating clan affiliation.

The head of each clan is a representative to the district council, the Klobak. In this capacity he carries political "weight" in proportion to his clan's rank in the hierarchy. Historically, the major issues which were settled in the Klobak pertained, for example, to decisions to enter war, the distribution of money won in war amongst the various clans, and the payment of money to other districts for assistance in community projects.

The Klobak is also the locus of considerable political intrigue and friction. Lines of loyalty, however, are clearly demarcated on the basis of the dual division of the clans - a moiety division which is characteristic of many aspects of Palau. In this case, clans 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11 are opposed to clans 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 and political loyalties fall roughly according to this division in the Klobak.

The duties of the clan head to the district include participation in Klobak meetings and certain responsibilities attendant upon that office, such as obligations to provide men and money on the proper occasions. His status rights include protection by the district Klobak of his clan members and of the clan territory. The head of the clan assumes the position of father for the members of the clan. For example, he may on certain occasions demand money and food from the members of the clan and at the same time this position requires that he assume responsibility for crimes committed by clan members, that he provide for the destitute members and that he allocate clan land for purposes of agriculture.

The Village

Politically each village follows rather closely the pattern of the district. As stated previously, the village chief is the clan head of the highest ranking clan in the village. The village Klobak is composed of the clan heads of the various clans in the village of which there are usually ten. The head of a low ranking clan may have little prestige in the district Klobak but may be a village chief with considerable power in his village Klobak.

A parallel structure in both the district and the village exists for females. Each clan has a number one ranking female. The power and prestige of these females is proportionate to the rank of their clan in the district or village. The female counterpart of the Klobak is designated the Klobak-l-dil. In 1890 the functions of this group included 1) designating and assigning village work, 2) determining the district's complement of concubines, 3) preparing feasts on various ceremonious occasions and 4) practicing and performing group dances for specific ceremonies.

Thus, within each district and village there is a hierarchy of political offices for both males and females. The hierarchy of the district supercedes and is not determined by the hierarchy of the village. Power is concentrated in the most dominant clan, which is tantamount to stating that power is concentrated in the individual within this clan who occupies the position of clan head or the female counterpart of the clan head.

The Internal Structure of the Clan

Each clan is composed of a series of female lineages. Historically

the lineages within each clan were determined by a single ancestral family. This family originated mythologically in the various outlying Islands and after a series of migrations within Palau settled in their present position. In the course of its various movements within Palau the original family left behind female relatives who established lineages in the various districts. Hence, the origin of the term Klebliil which includes members of the clan not resident in the "home" district. In this manner a fiction is maintained that all the members of a clan are biologically related through female lineages which stem from an original group of sisters. In reality, since the migrations occurred 17 to 20 generations ago, the biological relationships are impossible to substantiate, although they are rigidly observed.

Briefly, each clan stems from a single ancestral biological kin group composed of a mother and her children who have a relationship to a maternal uncle. This unit is called an ongalak. A clan is thus composed of a series of ongalak each of which is able to trace through its female lineage a relationship to the ancestral ongalak and the original mother. The pattern which is followed is described in the chart on the following page.

Since the prime original female³(1) initiates the system with an original ongalak which carries the clan name, the number of her immediate female offspring determines the number of base lineages which the clan has. In the example there would be three base lineages stemming from the female offspring 2, 5, and 6 at generation level II. Of course, in the succeeding 20 generations a tremendous dispersion occurs in the system, according to the number of female offspring, but the number of female base lineages does not change.⁴ The ongalak which carries the clan name is traced through the oldest female of any generation - in the chart this is 2, 3 and 4. It is this lineage which determines the highest ranking female in the clan and it is this lineage which provides the male offspring who shall become the clan chief. If there is an absence of offspring in this line (2, 3, 4), the system moves laterally to the right for recruits, first within base lineage 2 (at generation level II) and then successively to 5 and 6. If all female descendants are lost from the system, recruits are derived from the descendants of the original males at generation level two. Thus the pattern of female succession in the ideal system first exploits all possibilities in base lineage 2 and then moves successively through 3 and 4 in the same manner. This process is described in the three generational chart on page 27.

(3) The numbers in the text correspond to the members in the chart on page 26.

(4) The discussion which follows is generalized and may describe the system as it exists at any point in time.

Chart I

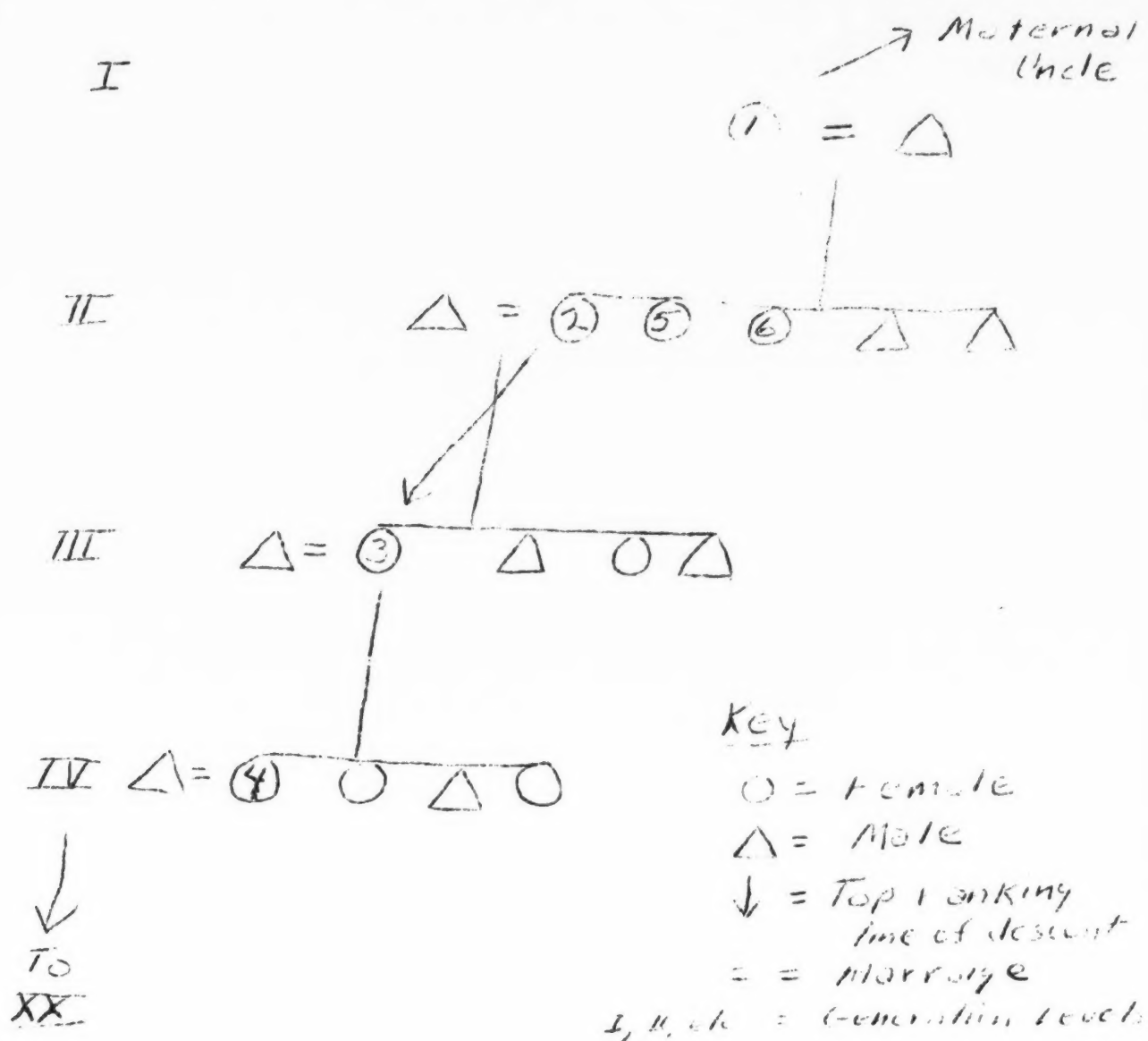
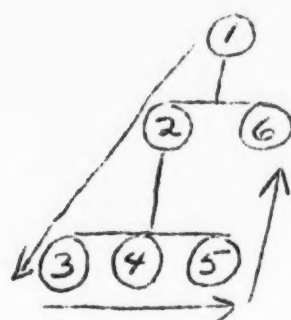


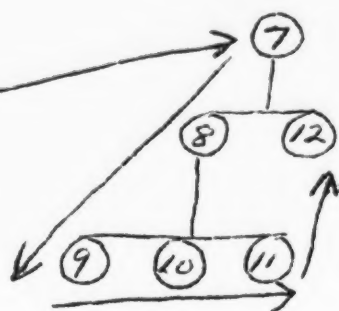
Chart illustrating base lineages and top-ranking line of female descent.

Chart II

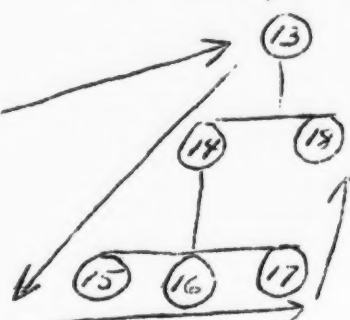
Base Lineage 2



Base Lineage 3



Base Lineage 4

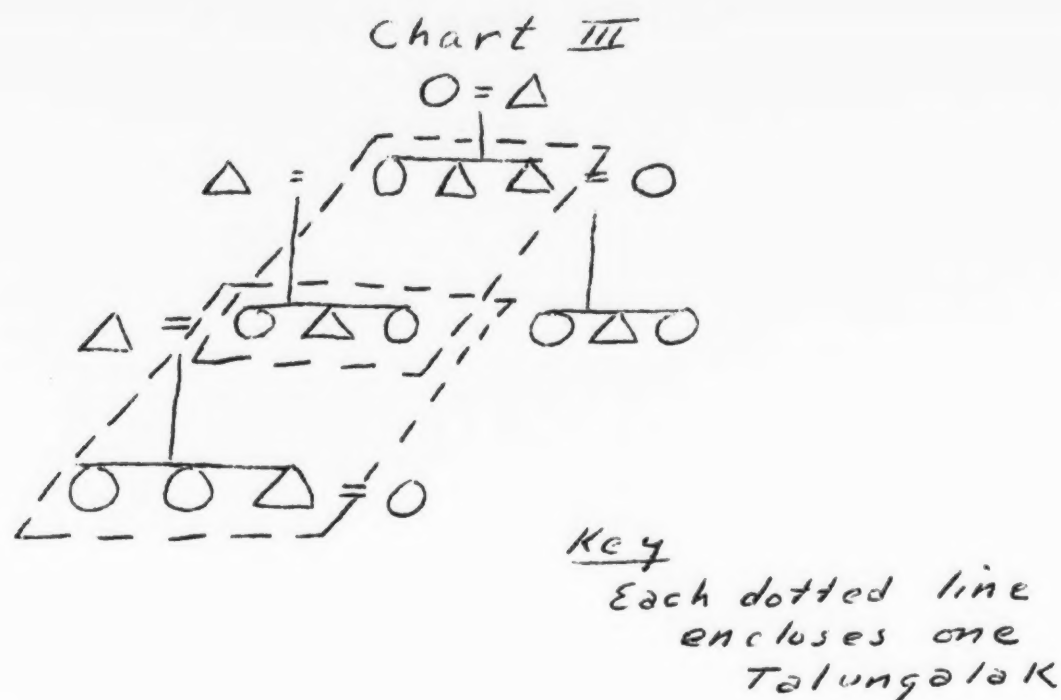


Key
 O = Female
 → = Succession
 priority

Chart Illustrating Pattern of
 Female Succession.

In this manner, any female descendent of 1 preceeds female descendents of 7 and 12. Any female descendent of 2 preceeds all female descendents of 6. And any female descendent of 3 preceeds all female descendents of 4 and 5, etc. Hence, the female head of the clan, known as the *M'as*, is determined according to this pattern, and the male who shall succeed to the position of clan head is also determined by his position in the matrilineal hierarchy, that is, whether he is an offspring of the highest ranking female in the clan. Through this system of ranking, every individual in the clan falls within a hierarchy of potential succession to the major statuses in the clan.

In addition to the *ongalak*, mentioned above, there are other kinship units designated within the clan. These are the *talungalak* and the *blai*, each representing successively larger units of individuals within the clan. The *talungalak* is a group of *ongalak*, that is, a group of sisters and their children who have a relationship to a maternal uncle. Thus a *talungalak* represents all individuals in a female lineage who fall within two generational levels and who trace their ancestry to one female. The *talungalak* may be diagrammed as follows:



Composition of Talungalak

The enclosed dotted line (1) represents one talungalak and the enclosed dotted line (2) represents another. The offspring of females only are included within the system. The offspring of males are excluded since they revert to their mothers talungalak. A base lineage is made up of a series of talungalak or extended biological relatives. The talungalak which follows the main line of descent is given the clan name, whereas those that stem from other lines of descent are given other names.

The blai includes all talungalak which stem from one female lineage within the clan. The blai which follows the main line of descent is given the clan name.

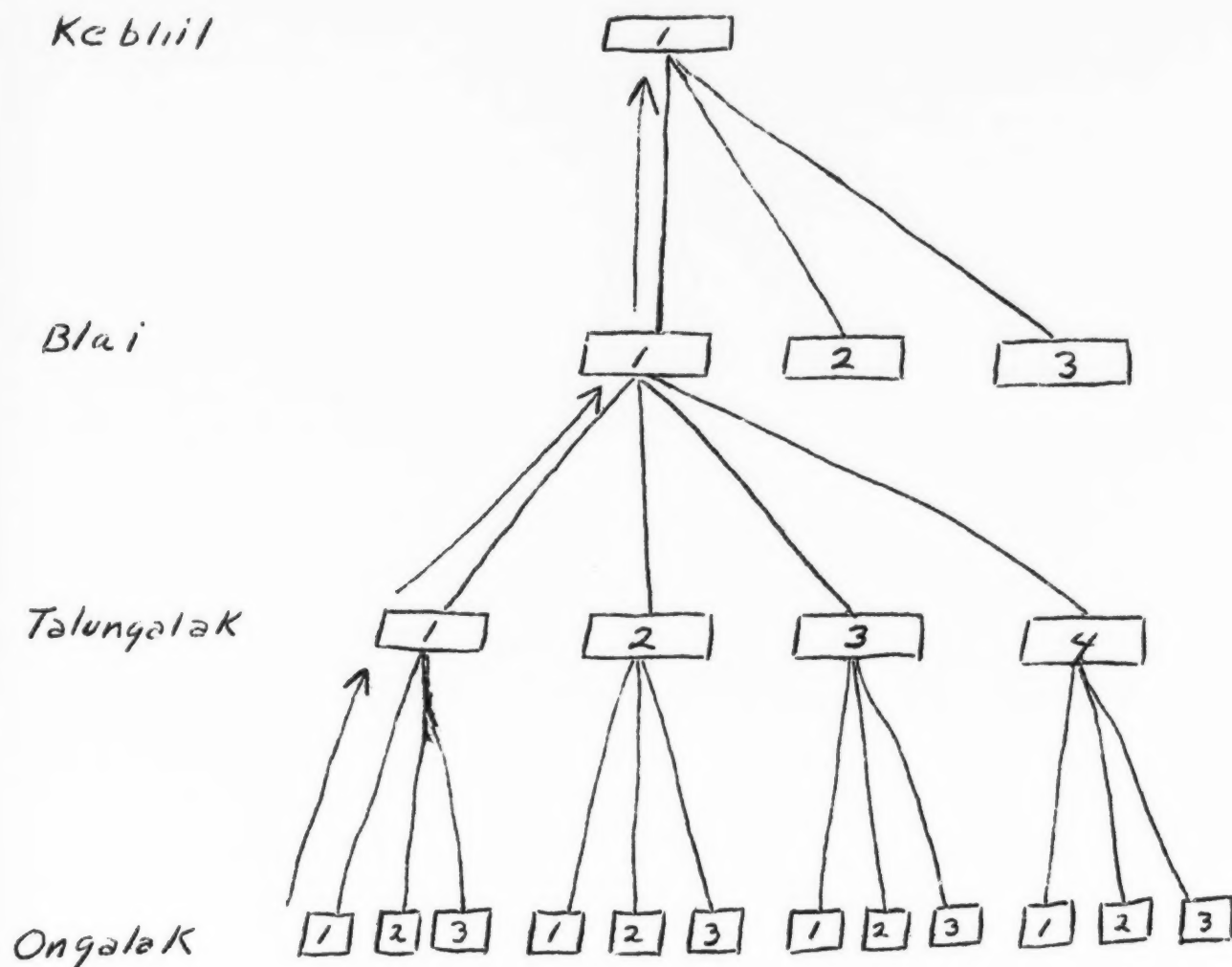
Schematically represented, the structural relationships of the ongalak, talungalak and blai to each other and to the clan and klebliil are shown in the chart on the following page.

The numbers in each box⁵ represent succession priority and the line which is arrowed represents the main line of descent. This structure will fit the Udes clan of Melekeok which is the number one clan of the district. Thus the number one blai, talungalak and ongalak are all called Udes.

The most important aspect of this hierarchical ordering of kinship units is that each step in the hierarchy represents a higher level of control which is based on lineage. Thus the Udes talungalak, which is the

(5) Those designated in the chart on page 29.

Chart IV

Key

→ indicates up ranking unit

Numbers refer to position in hierarchical ordering

Structural Relationships Between Various Kinship Units

highest ranking talungalak in the clan, provides the clan leadership, and controls, for certain purposes, all other individuals in the clan. The number two, three and four talungalak control, for certain other purposes, only the ongalak under them. The same holds for the kinship units designated as blai. And, likewise, the same pattern prevails in the ranking of districts between each other.

From this chart of the hierarchical structure of matrilineal descent it is possible to understand how the Udes talungalak becomes the ruling family in the Melekeok district, and thus the most powerful family in the Melekeok confederation. This descent and control pattern prevails for all clans in Palau.

The Kinship System

Certain aspects of kinship relationships have already been suggested in the preceding section. It remains to highlight other relevant characteristics of this system in order to make for a total understanding of the processes by which political power, titles, and land are inherited and to indicate the patterned relationships which exist between certain individuals.

The kinship system traces descent through the maternal line and at the same time residence is patrilocal. The basic structural fact emanating from this system is that a number of individuals resident in one household will have lineage connections and clan affiliations with various kinship units outside that household. Married women resident in the patrilocal household will have membership in and loyalty ties to clans outside the household unit in which they live. Their children, by virtue of the matrilineal system, are placed in this same position. Married men, resident in the household of their biological father, will have clan membership in their mother's clan which is also outside the household unit. These relationships are structured in such a way as to minimize the stability of marriage because they weaken the loyalty ties of marriage partners; and as a further result the household unit in this system becomes insignificant as a kin group.

The significant kinship relationships are determined by an individual's position in the matrilineal lineage. Each matrilineal lineage is connected with one of the base lineages which stem from the clan's original ancestral ongalak. Although these relationships to the base lineages are sometimes difficult to validate, the fiction of a biological relatedness of all members of the clan is held - hence the intimate connection between the structure of the clan and kinship relationships. The various kinship units (ongalak, talungalak, blai) merge imperceptibly into the clan structure. An individual's position, determined by biological relationships in the matrilineal lineage, affects his accessibility to political power in the clan and the availability of land and titles to him.

Two statuses in the clan structure may be selected out to illustrate the operation of this system. These are known as the marreder and the m'as - the respectively highest ranking male and female statuses in the clan.

The m'as for the clan is the eldest female in the highest ranking talungalak of the clan. The line of succession to this position flows first through her daughters, then through her sisters and finally through the females in successively inferior talungalak. The clan merreder or chief is the eldest male descendent of the highest ranking female in the highest ranking talungalak. The line of succession for this position is first through the sons of the daughters of the highest ranking female, then through the other sons of the highest ranking female and finally moves over to the sons of the highest ranking females in successively inferior talungalak.

The system has thus far been described in its most ideal and elemental form. Four additional factors which complicate the mechanism must be considered. In the first place, when it is remembered that the entire system traces back some twenty generations to an ancestral talungalak and that the total population of Palau is about 5,000 people, it can be seen that the number of lines of dispersion both according to lineage and according to place of residence is great. This means that every member of the clan, theoretically at least, falls in the line of succession to the clan titles. It also means that the members of a clan are widely distributed in various households throughout Palau.

A second complication arises from an institutionalized kinship principle which allows individuals who stem from a male in the original ancestral talungalak to retain affiliations with the clan of that male. These affiliations in some cases may be so strong as to allow a descendent from a male in the ancestral talungalak to retain the original clan name. In fact, in certain instances, a patrilineal lineage has become institutionalized within a clan and in certain circumstances leadership may be derived from it. This adds an element of unpredictability into the ideal workings of the kinship mechanism and also constitutes a source of opposition to the matrilineal descendents who control the clan.

Third, the system allows males, in certain circumstances, the option to choose the lineage (matrilineal or patrilineal) which they shall follow. The occurrence of this phenomenon is not regulated by any fixed rules and differs from the point discussed in the preceding paragraph. In this case a male may choose his father's lineage either because it is superior in rank to his mother's lineage and therefore of advantage to him or because the chances for succeeding to a title in the patrilineal line are superior to those in the matrilineal line. Male descendents of this deviating individual may then decide to continue in the patrilineal line or to revert back to the initial matrilineal line one generation removed. If descent is traced in the patrilineal line for a number of successive generations, a true patrilineal line may be formed.

The fourth and last complication arises partly from the structural relations of the various kinship units (ongalak, talungalak and blei) and partly from the author's lack of crucial data on kinship terminology. The closest translation for the term merreder is maternal uncle. Due to the structural relations between the various kinship units and the retention of the biological fiction of relatedness, an individual has a "maternal uncle" at each level of kinship organization - ongalak, talungalak and blei. This maternal uncle may be a true biological maternal uncle or only

distantly or fictionally related. But regardless of the biological relationship, a significant social bond exists. The functions of the merreder and m'as at each level will be discussed subsequently.⁶

Merreder.

The term merreder is a generic term meaning leader. This leadership role occurs in each of the kinship units (talungalak, blai and clan) and its function is fulfilled at each level by an individual who possesses the necessary lineage qualifications. At the talungalak level it is the maternal uncle or maternal older brother - that is, the eldest of the mother's uncles or brothers. At the blai level it is the maternal uncle or maternal older brother in the highest ranking talungalak. At the clan level it is the maternal uncle or maternal older brother in the highest ranking talungalak of the highest ranking blai (this person is the clan chief). Thus according to one's talungalak position in the hierarchical ordering of talungalak, one or more merreder statuses may be occupied.

The functions of the merreder at the clan level (the clan chief) have already been suggested in an earlier section. Theoretically he is responsible for all members of the clan; their welfare and their behavior generally. The status gives control of certain clan lands and clan money and at the same time the occupant is responsible for any aggressive acts or crimes committed by any members of the clan against members of other clans. The clan merreder may call all members together for certain ceremonious occasions such as his installation as clan chief, the birth of an important child, the death of an important person or the marriage of a ranking person into the clan.

Looked at from the point of view of the talungalak merreder, he has a specific relationship to all the females and their children in his talungalak. Functionally the duties of this status mean that: 1) he is in charge of the education of his sister's children, 2) he gives food to his sisters and their children whenever it is needed, 3) he assists in making a marriage for these children. The merreder also has a series of rights over his talungalak kin group. These include 1) the right to the produce of his sisters and their children, 2) the right to send formal gifts of food to the sisters for which he may expect in return payments of money provided by the husbands' merreders and 3) the right to collect money from the husbands at marriage, birth of a child, death of a child, divorce, and death of the sister.

This system of relationships is structured in such a way as to give a married female and her children their primary security in their merreder. The relationship to the husband and father is extremely tenuous and includes no significant ties of loyalty. In fact a woman usually attempts to marry a man with wealth so that he will be able to make large payments to her merreder, which, if this can be done, enhances her status in her talungalak.

(6) Merreder and m'as are generic terms. Specific kinship terms are used to designate these individuals at the various levels of kinship organization.

The children of a married female assume a slightly different relationship to the merreder, according to sex. This relationship is complicated by the character of land distribution. The relationship of the male child to his maternal merreder is made tenuous by the fact that he gets land from his biological father with whom he resides. However, the land is given according to the male child's personal standing with the father - a situation of structural uncertainty. Thus he is put in a competitive position with a series of other males living in the same household who may belong to different clans and have different merreders. This desire for the esteem of both the father and the merreder tends to minimize the male child's relationship to his merreder.

A female child gets her land (two patches) from her mother or mother's older sister or maternal grandmother. She has thus few loyalties to her father, but extremely strong ties to her maternal lineage and the merreders within it. When she leaves her household of birth at marriage, the separation is forever complete. Henceforth her relationship is primarily to her merreder and in the case of divorce she will always revert to her merreder's household for security.

Since a group of hierarchically ranked talungalak composes a blai, the merreder of the blai has theoretically the same function at this level but it is simply for a larger kinship group. In actuality, however, the function of the merreder at this level is functionally distinct from the other levels. It is at this level that land is controlled, communal or co-operative work activities are regulated, and important pieces of Palau money deposited. Thus each lineage within the series of base lineages composing a clan maintains some self-sufficiency and remains as an entity in itself.

M'as.

The term m'as is a generic term, for any female who is the eldest and/or highest ranking living female stemming from the maternal line of descent in either the talungalak, blai or keblil. At the talungalak level this is the oldest living female descendent in the matrilineal lineage. The m'as at the blai level need not be the oldest of women in all talungalak, but is rather the eldest living female of the highest ranking talungalak in the blai. At the clan level, the m'as is the eldest living female with succession priority in the first ranking talungalak of the first ranking blai. Thus it becomes evident that age is not the deciding factor in determining who shall become clan m'as, but it is rather one's lineage position in the first ranking talungalak in the clan.

In the case where the m'as is still married, she lives in her husband's household. More frequently, however, where a high ranking m'as is concerned, she will move back to her talungalak household and bring her husband with her, or if the husband is dead she has already moved back to the household of her own talungalak. Regardless of her place of residence, this role grants her the privilege of 1) keeping the talungalak, blai or clan money, 2) wearing as marks of status the most important pieces of money, possessed by the unit, and 3) directing the work activities of all the women who have married a male member of the talungalak and who are patrilocally resident. At the same time her obligations are primarily to

train the females in the talungalak in the art of securing a desirable husband and to prevent any undesirable marriages. This later obligation is particularly important since the success of the talungalak and also the blai and clan is dependent on the number of successful marriages which its females can make.

The m'as at the blai level is superior to all the females in the talungalak which compose it and her decisions in any of the above stated functions supercede those of m'as in lower ranking talungalak. The m'as of the clan is the highest ranking female of the clan (by virtue of her being the highest ranking female in the highest ranking talungalak of the highest ranking blai) and her decisions supercede those of all other women in the clan. If she is the clan m'as of the highest ranking clan, for example the Udes in Malekeok, she also has the important function of directing the communal work activities of all the women in the district and also enjoys the highest status in the district.

The Father-son Relationship.

The father - son relationship is particularly important because 1) the son may choose to follow his father's lineage, 2) they live in a family group, 3) land is controlled by males and may be received by a son from his father and 4) crafts may be transmitted from father to son. All these factors contribute towards a strong and secure relationship between these statuses. Over a period of years in which father and son live in the same house a strong filial attachment is engendered. This forms the basis for the father's exceptional interest in his own sons even though he may be a merreder to other men's sons through marriages of female relatives. Thus it can be seen that a son may look to one of two sources for his security - to his father or to his merreder - and if he is clever he may utilize both.

System of Rank

Superimposed upon the hierarchical organization of clans which to a certain extent determines an individual's prestige (lineage being the crucial determining factor) is a more generalized system of rank. Whereas a knowledge of one's lineage and clan makes possible the specific placement of one individual in relation to other individuals, the more generalized system of rank lumps together large segments of the population under a certain rank classification.

These rank classifications consist of four categories; meteet, bukul a blai, olues blu and ebuul. Meteet is a generalized term for any person who can trace his lineage in either of the two first ranking clans in the district. In the case of the Melekeok district, this would be those individuals in the Udes or Umerang clans. The third and fourth ranking clans are called bukul a blai; the fifth to the tenth are called olues blu and the 11th to the 20th are designated as ebuul. These classifications are common to all the districts of Palau.

In addition to this each village classifies its component members along the same scale. Although a village may have only a half dozen clans represented in it, the clan which is top ranking is considered meteet for

village purposes, and so forth. Rank in a district, however, in all cases transcends rank in a village. Thus if a person is in a fifth ranking clan of a district and in the first ranking clan of a village, he would be considered an olues blu in the district and a meteet in the village. In each case, however, the district rank takes precedence and is the functionally more significant system. This follows from the fact that the district is the basic functional unit in political power relationships.

The four rank classifications listed above refer in each case to a specific individual in a specific position. There are two other terms, ilteet and elebuul, which have the general meaning respectively of upper-class and lower-class. The meteet man is invariably considered ilteet while the bukul a blai, olues blu and ebuul are considered elebuul. It is difficult to say whether this latter classification was functionally significant in 1890. It is mentioned however because it becomes significant in the later development of Palau.

The ranking of individuals according to this fourfold system plays a functionally significant role in ordering a large segment of human relationships. It serves to set limits on the activities in which one may engage and prescribes relationships between individuals of different ranks. The generalized position of these ranks are as follows:

- 1) Meteet: exercise political authority in the district and village; are accorded deference by all those in lower ranks during ceremonials, on village paths, on meeting another boat on the sea, etc.; possess exclusive knowledge of certain pieces of Palau money; may practice polygamy; are generally feared by those who rank lower because of their power; enjoy high prestige; have special knowledge of history of clans and lines of descent.
- 2) Bukul a blai: politically they are in a position of opposition to the meteet, (check excessive abuse of power); strive to increase the power of their clan; must show deference to meteet and receive deference from those in lower ranks; have extensive knowledge of Palau money and history generally, but do not have intimate knowledge of meteet affairs in this respect; generally strive to enhance their own position and at the same time consider themselves protectors of lower ranks.
- 3) Olues blu: enjoy no political power in the district; are excluded from information concerning Palau history and important Palau money; are generally delegated the manual work of the village; must show extreme deference to those in upper ranks; have fear and respect for meteet.
- 4) ebuul: the lowest possible position in society; composed of most recent immigrants who have no clan history; have only a meager knowledge of insignificant pieces of Palau money; must show extreme deference to those in upper ranks; have little knowledge of political functioning of district; concerned primarily with making a living; have fear and respect for meteet, bukul a blai and olues blu.

In addition to these ranks which are determined by clan and lineage there is one more category which it is important to mention. This is a

status known as Merau, a term designating a wealthy man. This status lies outside the system of rank described above. In other words, a man may be both a meteet or bukul a blai and a merau. The significant feature of this status is that it allows for some mobility on the basis of individual initiative in an otherwise fixed system of rank. A man who is clever or shrewd in the manipulation of Palau money and who is able to accumulate wealth is able to achieve prestige and respect and thus enjoys a certain amount of political power and the deference of others who may be in his own rank or even ranks above him. The status honor and prestige which he has is a direct function of his wealth and is dependent on his ability to retain or increase his wealth, measured in terms of the number and kind of Palau money which he possesses. Thus this status may be viewed as an institutionalized outlet for avoiding certain strains in the social system which arise when a particularly clever and ambitious person views with dissatisfaction his hereditarily determined rank position. Through this medium he may achieve status in the political councils and prestige, which is so highly valued in the culture, despite his lineage. The status of merau allows for some flexibility in a rather fixed and rigid system, and thus is a form of protection against serious internal change.

The Men's Clubs

In addition to the clan and rank structure, there existed a system of men's organizations within each district. The number of those organizations per district varied from four to eight depending on the total population of the district. The activities of these groups called 'aldebe'el', were focused in the men's houses or bai of which there was one for each group.

In Melekeok, for example, there were six such organizations organized on a moiety basis as follows:

bitang (half)	ma (end)	bitang (half)
(1) Ngerageei (Udes)		(2) Ngaratelebtakel (Umerang)
(3) Ngarabesas (Luges)		(4) Ngar'au (Mid)
(5) Ngaramalang'ad (Ngaruleong)		(6) Ngaraboes (Krureu)

All the males in the district beyond puberty were a member of one or another of these groups and lived in its respective bai. Those males who had not yet reached puberty were committed to one of the 'aldebe'el', but lived with their mothers in their father's household. Each group had a leader who was the highest ranking male in each of the first six ranking clans as indicated above. Thus the person occupying the status of Reklai was the leader of the Ngerageei 'aldebe'el'. The determination of leadership, however, was the only formal connection which this system had with the clan system. The determination of membership was structured in such a way as to include in each group individuals from all the clans. Given the moiety organization of the clubs, this meant that the system cut across clan

affiliations and put members from the same clan in opposition to each other in any function related to the club organization.

It should be noted that these groups, on the basis of age, were vertically organized. That is, each 'aldebe'el was composed of individuals ranging in age from twelve or fourteen to very old men. In addition to this the status distinctions made on the basis of rank were to some extent ameliorated by the fact that all clans were represented in each club. This latter fact is particularly relevant in reference to old men who regardless of rank, were all accorded certain prestige. The position of old men carried with it certain respect and deference rights. Thus two old men, one an ebuul and the other meteet, occupied a similar status, shared status honor and were treated deferentially by those who were younger. This similarity, however, did not hold for political affairs. Other than this status distinction of old men, no other internal status distinctions were made in the 'aldebe'el (the system of rank was, however, extended into the 'aldebe'el).

For political purposes the Klobak controlled the 'aldebe'el units. Functionally this meant that the Klobak could commit the men's clubs to war in the name of the district; could delegate to each club certain communal labor; and could commit the clubs to labor in other districts in payment of obligations incurred by the klobak.

Of great significance for our purposes was the role of the 'aldebe'el in the socialization and education of the young male. At the age of approximately twelve the boy left the household, composed primarily of women, and began to spend the major part of his time in the bai with others of his own age and with older men. It was in this situation that he was taught the skills necessary for life, hunting, fishing, warfare, crafts, etc. It was here also that he was allowed his first sexual contacts with women since each bai retained its own concubine, composed of young women from other districts. In the bai the older men taught him the folklore of the culture and the proper patterns of behavior to display toward his superiors and inferiors.

Institutionalized Concubinage

Of particular significance in determining the status and role of young unmarried women was the institution of concubinage known as the blolobo. Based on historical ties, certain districts within a confederation had particularly friendly relationships with each other. These relationships determined the pattern of exchange of young females who served in the capacity of concubines in the men's clubs. The principle of exchange avoided direct exchange of females between two districts, but rather involved three or more districts.⁷

(7) The exchange followed a rotary pattern - district one received women from district two, who received women from district 3 and district 3 received women from district one.

Women, recruited on the basis of beauty and lineage, were sent to another district for a period of a few years to live in the various 'aldebe'el as servants and concubines. The girl's duty to her district and clan was either 1) to secure the particular affection of a wealthy male or 2) to secure a marriage partner who was deemed desirable by her clan. In both cases the ultimate objective was to form a relationship which would result in a payment of money to her clan by the male member of another clan. Thus a girl could achieve status by developing a relationship with a wealthy man who upon her departure felt impelled to give her a piece of Palau money. In this case the girl turned the money over to her merreder which thus enhanced her prestige. On the other hand, she could enter into marriage with one of the club members which immediately established a series of financial obligations on the part of the husband's merreder to the wife's merreder. These two alternatives provided the means by which a young woman could increase her status within her own kinship unit.

The exchange of money between districts which resulted from this institution was also significant in determining the status and power relationships of districts, since the status and power of a district was partly determined by the number and size of the pieces of Palau money which it possessed. Hence, the exchange which took place as a result of concubinage effected the district politically. This institution was one of the mechanisms for maintaining a fluid power-situation. From a cursory sketch of this custom, one is able to perceive the functional importance of the status of concubine and the prestige which she could potentially achieve if she was clever and successful in playing her role.

Institutionalized Warfare

It is difficult to determine whether warfare patterns were still functional in the period around 1890. Guns had been introduced as early as 1840, a fact which radically changed the character of war. Previously, except in a few instances, the object of war did not include securing the death of one's enemies. Without doubt, the introduction of the musket tended to increase the incidence of death in the war games. References to war, however, are still made on the basis of the memory of some of the older informants. It is from this that we infer the ideal pattern.

The functional unit in war was always the district. The unvarying patterns was for war to occur between two districts which were not in the same confederation, but for all practical purposes it was usually a war between two districts within the same confederation. This requires some explanation. A cause for war was usually the desire of a district chief to obtain a piece of money in the possession of an individual in another district within his own confederation. According to prevailing normative standards a chief (A) could not declare war against the chief (B) of another district within his confederation. Rather chief (A) must consort with the chief (C) of a district in the other confederation in order to make him declare war on district B. When C was advancing on B, (A) offered protection to the women of district B by allowing them to come into (A's) district for safety. When the war was concluded district A retained the women of district B as hostages until a satisfactory payment of money was made by B to A. The objective in this case was to maneuver a forced trans-

fer of an important piece of Palau money from B to A which thus enhanced the prestige and power of district A. At the same time, whoever was the winner of the combat, also had his district's prestige and power enhanced. In short, the system was designed primarily to allow for a flow of Palau money from one district to another and also to retain some fluidity in the power relationships of districts within a confederation.

The Economy and Occupational Structure of Palau

The basis of subsistence in Palau has been agriculture and fishing along with a minimum of hunting and gathering. Agriculture which included primarily the cultivation of roots and tubers (taro, yams, etc.) was traditionally woman's work. The technological implements associated with agriculture were minimal and included primarily the digging stick. Each woman upon marriage received her own taro patch from her husband's talungalak, and her ability to produce taro efficiently and in quantity was a partial index of her prestige in both the community and her husband's household. The m'as assumed a supervisory capacity in directing the labor of the women over which she had control. Female children accompanied their mothers to the field and thus were early indoctrinated into the art of cultivation.

Fishing was the basic productive pursuit of men, and was conducted within the barrier reef. An elaborate technology associated with fishing included outrigger canoes and a great variety of nets and spears. Custom allowed that fishing could be done individually or in groups. In the latter case it was the merreder who organized parties from within the talungalak. Because fishing was seasonal and required a minimum of time there was considerable time available for men's club activities and hunting, the latter pursued as a combination sport and productive enterprise. The game included small birds and pigs which were used for food on certain ceremonial occasions. Both men and women occupied themselves with the gathering of marine animals (trochus) and fruits (bananas, etc.).

In addition to the above occupations, certain men were skilled at specialized crafts. Who should become a craftsman was not determined by any fixed system except in so far as craftsmanship was transmitted from father to son. That is, any man might have some knowledge of boatbuilding, house construction, tortoise-ware construction, lime production, etc., but certain families tended to have exclusive control over certain knowledge which distinguished their craftsmanship. The salient feature regarding the transmission of skills and knowledge was that they were passed on from biological father to son. This represented the single break in the control which the merreder had over a man's sons. In a sense, the transmission of crafts represented the only channel which a father had for perpetuating something of himself through his children. Since a father always felt that his sons' abilities were a reflection upon himself, he therefore was careful to teach the son who would bring honor to him. The crafts which were transmitted from father to son included the following, ranked in the order of their prestige:

- 1) Bai building.
- 2) House building.
- 3) Canoe building.

- 4) Fish net construction.
- 5) Turtle catching.
- 6) Fish trap construction.

There was one other speciality, on the order of a craft, and this was the possession of a specialized knowledge of Palau money. Most members of ranking families, both male and female, were likely to be quite familiar with the types and the value of Palau money. But at the same time it was also possible for non-ranking individuals, usually men, to acquire a very specialized knowledge of all the features of Palau money (the number of types in existence, the size, the value, the authenticity) and to possess a very detailed knowledge of historical and contemporary transactions. These individuals occupied a special status not only because they were employed to settle money disputes, but also they were able to enhance the status of their clan and *talunglak* by knowing which pieces of Palau money it was desirable to possess and which was counterfeit.

Palau Money

Its General Characteristics.

Since the function of Palau money is so central and catalytic in the functioning of the economy as a whole, it is necessary at this time to diverge into a brief description of it.

Palau money may be classified into nine families as follows:⁸
 1) *ba'el brak*, 2) *ba'el mungungau*, 3) *ba'el 'eldoio'*, 4) *'elbuub*, 5) *kluk*, 6) *delobo'*, 7) *bleab brak*, 8) *bleab mungungau*, 9) *bleab 'eldoio'*. The material composition of this money is either glass beads or fired clay. The shape of the glass beads is about an inch to a quarter of an inch in diameter. The shape of the fired clay pieces is crescentic longitudinally and triangular in cross section and their size varies from about the size of a thumb to a pea.

At the present time the amount of money, the number of pieces, in Palau is fixed. It can neither be manufactured indigenously nor can it be imported from wherever its source might have been. In the middle of the nineteenth century some counterfeited pieces were brought in by traders, but these are still recognized as such and can ^{only} be passed off as legitimate money on the gullible. On the other hand, a certain number of pieces tend to go out of circulation due to loss by their owners.

The value of any piece of money is not fixed. Each general type rather must be used in a specific situation - a *kluk*, for example, is the standardized exchange piece in a house building ceremony. Each of the types may be used in a specifically delimited series of functions. It is not possible to substitute a quantity of *kluk* in a payment which requires a *ba'el brak*. And in addition to this, the value of one piece in relation to another piece in the same family - a *kluk* in relation to another *kluk* - varies. Thus the adequacy of a *kluk* in fulfilling a payment obligation in

(8) This classification has been worked out by Mr. Robert Ritzenthaler.

a certain situation may be determined by any of the following: 1) its particular texture and size, 2) its history in important transactions, 3) the number of outstanding personages who have at one time possessed it and 4) the ability of the payer to enhance its value by convincing others through "talk" that this particular piece is extremely valuable. Hence the value of any particular piece varies from situation to situation depending upon circumstances. The key to the system lies not in any absolute valuation on any one piece, but rather in the prescribed social situation in which a piece may be used.

Functional Role of Money in Palau Customs.

Some of the social functions of this system of money have already been mentioned - i.e., status symbols when worn by women, attainment of political power for a district chief by the acquisition of money through war and the blolobo; enhancement of the status of young females by acquiring money in the blolobo; as a means of enhancing one's social status outside the fixed rank system by becoming a merau, etc. In addition to this, however, money plays an extremely important functional role in certain instances associated with rites de passage, boat building, house building and in payments to alleviate certain potential social strains such as divorce, wife-beating, crime, etc. An understanding of the role of money in these situations is necessary in order to understand the full effect, in later periods, of the introduction of foreign currency and wage labor. It is not, at this time, possible to trace through all the situations in which money was used. We will therefore select some of the more significant customs which, later under foreign influence, were radically changed.

The customs offered for consideration are as follows:

- 1) O'eroel - a payment made at the time a house or boat is built by a kabliil merreder's female relatives to the merreder for the purpose of paying for a feast and the carpenter.
- 2) Bus - a payment made at the time of marriage by a husband's merreder's female relatives to the wife's merreder.
- 3) Tele'ul - gifts of food made by the wife's merreder to her husband for which an orrau is paid by the husband or his merreder.
- 4) Orrau - a payment made by a husband or his merreder to his wife's merreder when he has sent a tele'ul. The tele'ul and orrau are two aspects of one custom called omelu'el.
- 5) Buul dil - a payment made by the husband or his merreder to the wife's merreder at the birth of a child by his wife.
- 6) Elebehiil - a payment made at the death of either husband or wife, by the husband's merreder to the wife's merreder.

Before going into a more detailed description of the operation of these customs, let us for a moment consider them in general. There is a single general pattern which holds consistently for Bus, Tele'ul, Orrau, Buul dil and Elebehiil. The basic relationship necessary for the initiation

of any of these is marriage. When a woman comes to live in the house of her husband, her merreder immediately has the right of making the claims which these customs define. These customs establish a relationship between a husband's and wife's talungalak. O'eroal, on the other hand, is a series of specific relationships between individuals within a Kebliil. A man within the Kebliil may build a house or boat only after having the sanction of the Kebliil merreder. In this case the Kebliil merreder calls all the members within the Kebliil together to make payments toward the cost of the house or boat. The male members as well as the female members of the Kebliil are expected to pay. The female members, however, lean exclusively on their husbands to meet the demands of the clan head. The specific functioning of these customs is described below.

A. O'eroal.

The basic cause for calling an o'eroal is when some talungalak within the Kebliil is in need of a new house or boat. In this event the merreder of the talungalak approaches the merreder of the Kebliil (the clan head) and states his desire for a new house. The clan head may or may not sanction the construction desired. In the event that it is sanctioned, the clan head engages a carpenter or boat builder to perform the necessary construction. Upon completion all clan members within the district (the Kebliil) are invited to come to the ceremony and, since an invitation is mandatory, all appear at the ceremony. The clan head has asked his wife's merreder to prepare a feast for the clan members. Each member of the clan, male and female, who is married must make a payment. The most important money, usually a dolobo', is paid by the females who secure the money from their husbands' talungalak - this is one way in which new money is brought into the clan. The money paid by males represents an intra-clan exchange and is less significant.

The payment of the money usually takes one, two or three days depending on how long it takes to get the amount necessary - this being determined by the carpenter's fee and the cost of the feast. The gathering at which the money is collected is called an 'aldaldu'. If the money collected is sufficient to pay both the carpenter and the concessionaire who prepared the feast, the 'aldaldu' is completed. If not, appeals for more money from the females is continued. It is at this time that a female member of the clan is best able to show her loyalty. She is placed in a position in which she must compete with the other females of the clan for the prestige which attends making a large contribution. The wealth of her husband or his talungalak determines her ability to pay, but he at the same time is anxious to avoid excessive payments. On some occasions this causes discord among marriage partners.

The number of individuals with the implicit authority to call an o'eroal is limited by the number of clans. The number of occasions on which an o'eroal may be called is determined by 1) normal depreciation on houses or boats and 2) whether the population of the clan is increasing to the extent that more dwellings and boats are needed.

This is one of the most important occasions for which the entire clan assembles. Furthermore, the occasion provides a check on both the loyalties of the female members and the state of their marriage. For

example, if a woman is able to make a large payment the clan members feel that she has not become too closely identified with her husband. If the payment is small, she is felt to be in bad standing with her husband's family and this foreshadows a separation. A divorce is bad for the clan since a woman is most valuable when she is married. The success of the M'as is also reflected on this occasion. If she has made "good" marriages - i.e. to wealthy men - and trained the clan's females well, the o'eroal will be successful for the clan.

B. Bus.

A Bus is a payment of money, usually a kluk, made by the groom to his bride's merreder. In a sense, it may be called a bride price except that its usage is limited to couples who are advanced in age - beyond 40 or 45 years old. Marriages which occur earlier than this, of which there may be two or three per person, are usually considered transient and not expected to last. The Bus serves to put a stamp of finality on a marriage and it is assumed that a separation in the future will not occur. Therefore a man who is of proper age will either possess or secure from his merreder a piece of money (the size of which is determined by his wealth and the extent of the impression he wants to make on his wife's relatives) which he takes to his bride's merreder or to one of her male relatives for payment. With this transaction completed he may bring the bride back with him to his household. The exact piece which the bride's merreder wishes to have is stipulated before hand - terms are agreed upon - and the actual payment is a formality. The status of a man is to some extent determined by the size of the Bus which he is able to pay. If his payment is large he will be looked upon as a rich man. At the same time, the bride enhances her position and status in her talungalak and clan if she is able to marry a man who is able to pay a large sum into the clan.

C. Tele'ul.

Any marriage, whether a Bus is paid and the marriage is recognized as permanent or whether a Bus is not paid and the marriage is regarded as transient, establishes a relationship between two talungalak. This gives the bride's merreder the right to send a tele'ul to her while she is living in the groom's household. The tele'ul consists of a gift of food which is sent in either one or more installments. Since the bride's merreder's relationship to her is one of responsibility, this food is sent in the name of her welfare, but the real object of the gift is to extract money from her husband's talungalak. Since the bride's loyalties are to her merreder and since she is also dependant upon him throughout life, she cannot refuse the gift. Her status in her clan is dependent upon accepting it.

The functional significance of the tele'ul is to facilitate the exchange of produce and money and to allow the merreder the right to support his kin who do not come under his direct control in his own household. However, the immediate purpose of the custom is to enable the bride's merreder to get money. The custom operates in the following manner: Food may be sent to any married female relative in any village so long as her biological relationship is close. Before setting forth the sender will have his wife prepare baskets of food and fish. This food is then taken to the female relative's husband with the statement: "I have come to visit you. I feel sorry for you so I have brought you some things." The husband

answers, "I don't have anything, not even money." The sender replies, "I don't want money." However, such conversation is only a formality, a mere convention, the sender obviously wants money and the receiver who says he has no money, has money. If a large supply of food is brought, a kluk is paid that same day. Otherwise two or three shipments of food must be made before the payment is made.

D. Orrau.

The orrau is simply the money payment made for the tele'ul. The money flows in this case from the husband's talungalak to the wife's talungalak. If the husband has some prestige, he is able to hold back his payment for some time or in some cases insist that a dolobo be included in the gift. In such instances he may be able to prolong the proceedings until he has received goods in excess of the kluk payment which he must make. Cases such as these, however, occur only when there are great disparities in rank between the two families. Usually the profit in the transaction goes to the wife's merreder.

E. Omolu'el.

The tele'ul and orrau in combination are known as an omelu'el. Certain aspects of this exchange relationship may profitably be considered in this larger context. The exact functioning of an omelu'el in a specific instance is governed by a number of factors. The relative rank standing of the two talungalak brought into this relationship by a marriage determines which one will have the advantageous position in bargaining. Thus a great differential in rank is in many instances a deterrent to marriage - a female is especially deterred from marrying a man below her rank. Secondly, the functioning of omelu'el is governed by the number of pieces of money in the appropriate categories which are in circulation. Given a fixed number of pieces of kluk in a population of 5,000 people, the number of transactions possible is limited. Thirdly, the custom is regulated by the biological distance of a female relative. Immediate kinship relations are most binding and thus a payment in receipt of a tele'ul is more guaranteed. Finally, relatives who live a great distance from the sender are poor risks because of slow water transportation and the possibility of spoilage of the produce.

There is one other aspect of omelu'el which must be mentioned. By virtue of the fact that women marry men from other clans, all clans have some connection with each other through marriage, thus it is possible for one omelu'el transaction to involve a series of clans. This occurs when a husband's merreder receives a tele'ul for which he knows he cannot or does not want to pay. In this case he simply accepts the produce and passes it on to one of his female relatives. The passing on of a tele'ul may occur three or four times or until the produce has rotted. The effect of this is to establish a series of obligations based entirely on one gift of food. If the tele'ul goes through five hands (A to B to C to D to E), then E owes D an orrau, D owes C an orrau and so forth. If differences of rank prevail between any of these individuals, it is possible to exact payments from others larger than one has to make himself and thus make a profit. The limiting factor which prevents extending the system indefinitely is the slowness of transportation, and the difficulties of inter-district communication due to certain restrictions on free movement.

F. Buul dil.

The Buul dil is a payment made by the husband's merreder to the wife's merreder on each occasion when a child is born to the wife. At about the sixth month of pregnancy the wife leaves her husband's household and does not return to her own household until a few months after the child is born. Before the wife returns, an 'aldeldu' is held by her talungalak. At this occasion the husband's merreder must pay a kldait and the other members of his talungalak must make lesser payments. These payments are theoretically kept in trust for the child by his mother's merreder or by his successor, but in actuality are used for talungalak or clan purposes. When the 'aldeldu' is satisfactorily concluded, the wife returns to her husband's household.

G. Elebe'iil.

Elebe'iil is the designation for a series of money transactions which occur at the death of either spouse in a marriage relationship. The flow of money and household effects is predominantly in the direction of the wife's merreder regardless of which spouse dies. The purpose of the custom is to redistribute the Palau money and household effects in the possession of the living spouse. The negotiations in the 'aldeldu' also determine the distribution of children to either the father's or mother's side.

The manner in which this custom operates varies according to whether it is the husband or wife who dies, but in either case the results are quite similar. If the husband dies, the wife's merreder (who usually assumes responsibility for the children and the wife) usually demands the following: 1) That the household effects be brought with the wife to his household, 2) that the husband's merreder pay a sum of Palau money to him on the argument that responsibility for the wife is now his and that he can no longer make other claims (tele'ul, orrau, etc.) on the husband and 3) that a sum of Palau money be turned over for the support of the children. In most cases the possessions of the deceased husband do not include sufficient funds to pay these obligations and thus his merreder must, from blai money, provide the necessary payments. In the case where the wife dies, her merreder still attempts to get the children, since this makes his claim for money payments more legitimate and also children are viewed as an economic asset. But regardless of what happens, the money still flows from the husband's side to the wife's side, for if the wife's merreder gets the children, he must then have money to support them. If he does not get the children, he must get money for having given up an advantage. Hence, the death of the wife always involves only one alternative and this is a heavy payment by the husband's merreder to the wife's merreder. The situation is structured in such a way that the husband is defined as responsible for the death and the payment which his family makes for that death determines to some extent the "honor" of the blai and talungalak. These factors place the deceased wife's merreder in a strategic bargaining position, which is usually fully exploited, and also point up the desirability (in so far as the wife's merreder is concerned) of having the wife die before the husband.

H. Contributory Customs.

In addition to the customs described above which may be character-

ized as exchange customs since they usually involve two way transactions, there is another series of customs which may be called contributory. The central feature of the latter type is the fact that the flow of money or goods is unidirectional. Certain situations, primarily the occurrence of a death, call these customs into action. Only two - those subsequently relevant - will be considered here. These two customs are called Kemeldiil and ti'iyau.

Kemeldiil constitutes the contributions made by the relatives of a deceased person to the deceased person's merreded. The contributions are made primarily by the female relatives of the deceased, though not exclusively so. The contributing female receives the necessary money from her husband. To enhance the size of the contributions, the females are placed in a group situation in which they must, under competitive conditions, make their contribution. To the woman who can make the largest contribution accrues the greatest prestige and highest blai standing. This is one way in which females may acquire status. The custom functions at the blai level and tends to serve the purpose of improving the financial standing of the blai.

Ti'iyau refers to the contributions made by the females of a district to the blai of a deceased district chief. In this case lineage lines are disregarded and all females, according to district residence, compete with each other to make the largest contribution. Status in this case accrues not only to the highest contributing female but also to the blai which she represents. The function of the custom is to enhance the financial standing of the blai of the deceased.

The exchange and contributory customs described above constitute an integral part of the economic system of Palau, by facilitating the exchange of goods and the movement of money. The transactions are so many and varied, that in many cases they tend to cancel each other with the result that little or no "profit" is made. Yet at the same time, they allow channels through which a blai or an individual may acquire large sums of Palau money and goods and thus improve his status by achievement.

Marriage

In relation to the clan, marriage patterns are exogamous. In addition to this fact certain preferential patterns are followed. The first of these is a tendency for marriages to occur between individuals from clans of closely equivalent rank in different districts. This pattern is closely observed in the higher ranking clans by the method of arranged marriages. In the case of the highest ranking clan in a confederation marriages will preferably occur with individuals in the highest ranking clan in the other confederation. For example, a high ranking Udes female of Melekeok is certain to marry a high ranking Idid of Korrer. The net effect of this procedure is to prevent lower ranking individuals from access to titles, land, etc. in the high ranking clans. The second preferential pattern which exists follows the dual division of the clans within a district. Members of clans numbered 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, etc. usually marry between each other and members of clans 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, etc. do the same. However, since this usually involves a double jump, it occurs less

frequently. Either one or a combination of these preferential patterns may prevail in the determination of marriage partners.

Land Control

In the indigenous system of Palau there was no conception of individual ownership of land. Each Kebliil, on the basis of ancestral claims, used and controlled a fixed quantity of land. In this manner, all land in Palau belonged to one clan or another - there was no land which was not designated to a clan.

All of the land belonging to a particular Kebliil was ultimately controlled by the clan chief or merreder. For practical purposes however, each blai was traditionally assigned certain lands over which it's merreder had control. Only in those instances where internal land disputes were unresolvable within the blai did the clan chief step in to mediate differences.

The blai land itself was divided into two categories, taro land and other lands (house sites, hunting areas, gathering areas - banana, mangoe, papaya trees, etc.). Control of the taro patches was always in the hands of the blai m'as who was usually resident in the talungalak house of the blai. Her duty was to allocate this land to the females who had married into the patrilocal household and to the unmarried females who still resided in the house. Control of this land was determined by the rules of succession for the status of m'as.

The "other" land was controlled by the blai merreder. It was distributed for use to sons living in the various talungalak houses of the blai. The land could then be disposed by a father to his son or to his son's son, neither of which would be in his clan, or he could parcel it out to his brothers and their sons. The father, in his role as a merreder to his sisters' sons, was also obligated to provide land for those males in the female lineage who happened to live in the area. Succession to the control of land followed the same rules as succession to the role of merreder - i.e., the eldest highest ranking male in the female lineage.

Religion

The structure of Palau religion was extremely complex and elaborate involving many varieties of gods of varying rank, earthly representatives of the gods in the form of shamens, sacred inanimate objects, food taboos, temples for worship and sacred wings in each house known as eldang. Unfortunately the functions of the religious structure are most difficult to obtain. Hence our consideration of this aspect of Palau is extremely limited.

In its mythological beginning Palau was believed to be populated with gods. The number of these gods was great and each was ranked in a hierarchical order of importance. These gods are imputed to have built the stone ruins (great stone stairways, large carved stones representing faces) now remaining in the north of Palau. Each district, village, clan, blai

and talungalak had its own gods which served a specific function for each of these levels of organization. The ranking of the god did not, however, correspond to the ranking of the district or clan. In fact the power of the gods was usually in inverse ratio to the rank of a particular unit of social or political organization. The usual pattern was for low ranking clans to have the most powerful gods. This arrangement allowed a low ranking rubak to invoke a religious sanction against a high ranking rubak whose political power was great - a type of check against the abuse of power. The same pattern held in relation to the districts, where the most powerful gods were found in the districts of Kayangle, Ngarard, Angaur, Peliliou and Airrai.

Standardized offerings to the gods were placed in the temples and eldeng. These offerings consisted primarily of concoctions brewed from various grasses, weeds or flowers. The purpose of these offerings was to secure success in war, successful births and to ward off illness.

One extremely important role in the religious structure was that of the shaman. The necessary condition or qualification for becoming a shaman was having a vision or communication with a god while in a state of trance. A successful trance established the shaman as a direct earthly emissary of a god and was the only channel to power which existed outside of the inheritance of political power through lineage.

The successful shaman had the power to 1) cure internal or external illness, 2) predict future events, 3) exert black magic upon enemies and 4) to collect money or food for his services. When utilized cleverly these powers were sufficient to make a shaman an extremely powerful political figure. Since he was feared by chiefs and could amass a fortune in Palau money he was also able to increase his prestige and become a merau.

The power of a shaman in relation to other shamans was directly proportional to the power of the god with whom he was affiliated and the jurisdiction of his power was defined by the jurisdiction of the god. Since gods represented units no higher than the district, the shaman's power did not transcend district lines.

Configurations of Palau Culture

The outlines of Palau cultural configurations have already been suggested in chapter one. It remains only to bring them into focus with the ethnographic material presented in this chapter. It will be remembered that the following were suggested as significant configurations in the indigenous cultural structure, 1) prestige orientation and, its corollary, competitiveness, 2) opposing forces and 3) reciprocity. At this point we should like to suggest two more factors as playing an integrative function in Palau culture. They are: 1) materialism and 2) formalism.

In Palau, many aspects of behavior are predicated on a striving for prestige. This is indicated in the general tendency of people to excel in those activities in which they participate and concomitantly to make invidious comparisons between themselves and others. This depreciation of others makes it possible to raise one's estimation of oneself. Activities

such as possessing an intimate knowledge of Palau history or money, performing distinctive fishing or hunting feats and occupying important political statuses constitute a few of the channels through which prestige can be acquired. Although lineage prerequisites tend to make certain channels exclusive for meteet, there is perhaps a hierarchy of such prestige systems within which different segments of the class system can compete between themselves. Thus, for example, meteet may compete for possession of important pieces of Palau money while ebuul compete for excellence in spear fishing.

The functioning of the Palau social system itself is ideally structured to promote prestige striving and competitiveness. There is a constant tendency for the social system, due to the nature of the clan and kinship systems, to keep individuals ranked in a hierarchical order in relation to each other. Yet also in the nature of the system a fixed order which would create stability has never been achieved. Deaths, births, transactions in Palau money, victory or defeat in warfare, etc. constantly have demanded redefinitions of the situation. Thus although the system tends towards a rigid categorization of people, this is never completely achieved. Certain institutionalized channels for acquiring prestige have been always available and, by virtue of the fact that these channels are limited in number, it is suggested that the generalized orientation to prestige becomes more intense. Another structural aspect of the system also tends to emphasize prestige and competition. Most social units in Palau are organized on a dual basis. For example, the district, village, klobak, 'aldebe'el and the confederation organization are internally divided into opposing groups. The internal division in each case places one half of the unit in competition with the other half, thus permitting both a winner and a loser to be selected. Prestige from the competitive situation accrues to both the social unit and to the leadership which represents it.

A second premise in Palau culture is its orientation toward materialism. Running throughout the fabric of Palau culture may be noted the high esteem placed on material things, and the significance attached to tangible objects. First, may be mentioned the catalytic nature of Palau money. It has functioned as a means of settling war disputes, as a support to the status system, as a basic element in the major events such as birth, marriage, and death, and finally, as a factor in mediating personal differences and in adjusting criminal offenses. Palau money, the tangible object, has served to order and regulate the whole area of human relations and to provide an objective basis through which actual or potential strains in the social system could be either assuaged or averted.

Furthermore, the concept of quantity, rather than quality or intensity, has been an integral aspect of Palau materialism. Estimations of other clans, blai, talungalek or individuals have been made on the basis of the amount of land and Palau money possessed, the number of women in the kin group, the fertility of a woman - i.e., to give birth to daughters, etc. Indeed, the whole area of the exchange and reciprocity customs has symbolized the reduction of human relations to a quantitative and materialistic process. The loyalty of a female to her clan or her merreder has been judged in terms of the amount of money which she could bring into the clan, via these customs. Kemeldiil and Ti'iyau perhaps best illustrate the materialistic and quantitative aspects of human relations in Palau. Both

these customs function upon the death of a person. The all-night vigil kept over the dead body by other members of the clan is devoted not to mourning but to making money payments in a highly competitive situation. In the end the dead body is unceremoniously disposed of - the consequential aspects of the ceremony having been to collect money for the clan and to enhance the prestige of the highest contributing females.

A third unstated premise in Palau culture may be termed "formalism". All social systems, as a condition for their continued functioning, must have rules and regulations for governing the relations between individuals. In some instances these rules are loosely structured and allow for a maximum of individual imagination and creativity in inter-individual relations. In other cases - and Palau is suggested as typical - relations between individuals are rigidly defined and few unstructured situations are permitted to arise. And as a further aspect of this formalism, the Palau system (like many other preliterate societies) places extreme emphasis on removing the element of uncertainty in social situations. There exists a maximum of prescribed normative standards to cover a tremendous variety of social situations including inter-personal relations. A few illustrations will suffice to illustrate this principle. The hierarchical ordering of the clans and the precise placement of each individual in the lineage system and in the line of succession define for every individual in the society his relations to those above and below him. Elaborate deference and courtesy patterns delineate the proper behavior for innumerable specific occasions. In the klobak, 'aldebe'el, 'aldaldu' - any situation in which a large number of people are brought together - specific rules exist for seating arrangements, order of speaking and also the content of what is to be said. In short, the unstructured situation is constantly avoided. When new situations do occur a tradition is quickly established which then forms a new precedent. A basic security seems to be derived from an avoidance of spontaneity and the assurance of formalized human relations.

More basic than the above premises and on a higher level of abstraction are the configurations called opposing forces and reciprocity. The concept of opposing forces contributes most heavily toward maintaining an integrated social system. This configuration is extrapolated directly from the principle of duality which runs through the organization of the social structure and from the juxtaposition of various power statuses. The structure of the social system operates to place in opposition a) the top ranking districts of each confederation, b) the two top ranking districts within each confederation, c) all the odd and even numbered clans within a district d) the two halves of each village, e) the two halves of each 'aldebe'el unit and finally f) the matrilineal and patrilineal lines within a clan. In each case an institutionalized opposition function exists and the system precludes wide disparities in power. Hence, there is a constant tendency toward maintaining an equilibrium among opposed groups. However, since the situation is dynamic, the equilibrium is never achieved - stability remains as an ideal goal and fluidity characterizes the situation.

In regards to the opposition of statuses, each of the above structures carries with it a number one ranking position. In performing their roles, the individuals incumbent in these statuses are placed in opposition to each other. The chiefs of the clans in opposition carefully scrutinize the activities of each other. However, each opposition status carries with

it the prerogative of utilizing institutional means for checking, but never check-mating, the opposing force.

Finally, the principle of reciprocity is suggested as a cultural configuration. This principle - the tit-for-tat phenomenon - constitutes the basic premise underlying all the exchange customs and many aspects of economic arrangements. Although friends and relatives continuously give gifts in Palau, this is always done with the expectation that an equivalent or greater gift will be given in return. When a merreder sends food to his female relative, ostensibly for welfare purposes, the situation is interpreted as imposing an obligation upon the recipient. A relationship is established which can only be satisfactorily terminated by making the return payment. If an individual is engaged in a series of such transactions, each obligation must be remembered in specific detail for future fulfillment. If a person dies with outstanding obligations, responsibility for them must be assumed by his relatives. This factor is most noticeable in contemporary Palau. When wedding presents in Palau money or dollars are made, the amounts are committed to paper and slowly discharged by the obligated individual throughout his lifetime.

COLONIAL POLICY AND PALAU SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In the last chapter a brief construct of Palau culture was presented. This construct was designed to serve as a base to which we may compare subsequent changes in Palau. In 1890 Palau had been little effected by acculturative change. Up to this time only a handful of Japanese and English traders had presented themselves to the Palauans. The changes induced by them, although difficult to infer completely, seem minor in comparison to later change. The early traders were interested almost exclusively in buying those products which the indigenous economy had to offer. No overt effort was made to alter the functioning of the indigenous social structure. And, most significantly, no colonial administrative office had ever been set up, so that the functioning of the internal political structure had not been tampered with. The only significant changes which occurred were 1) the introduction of firearms, and 2) the introduction of the conception of a "larger" world. Firearms, no doubt, altered warfare patterns and tended toward a crystalization of power in the hands of those chiefs who possessed them. For example, Ibidul of Korrör, because he controlled the only suitable harbor, was the earliest chief to gain the advantage of firearms. This fact from the very beginning reflected in the enhancement of Korrör's prestige and power.

The effect of a larger world perspective on the thought of the Palauans is, of course, an interesting and difficult problem. In bringing the world to Palau, the early traders, by their behavior, to a certain extent helped not only to establish the attitudinal tone of the Palauans to the outside world, but also to structure that world for them. This is extremely significant because the character and content of the earliest contact inevitably tends to form the foundation of an historical tradition which defines subsequent foreigner-native relationships. In the case of Palau, the earliest events which conditioned this process can only be recovered from analysis of explorers' and traders' travel journals - a task outside the confines of this report. Nevertheless, it can be inferred with some assurance that the earliest contacts occurred under amicable and favorable conditions.

Another problem, more basic than the above, is the question of why the Palauans were eager to accept the foreigner. However, an answer to this question (which would involve analysis of personality structures, social structure, cultural themes and ethos to determine similarities and differences and interrelationships) is beyond the limits of this report. The following discussion is limited to the problems which arise from contact with foreigners subsequent to 1890. It is predicated on the fact (agreed upon by many observers) that Palau in its own unique way was particularly susceptible to foreign influence and to a maximum degree "accepted" the bargain involved in acculturation.

specific problem with which this chapter is concerned¹ involves first, a description of the alternatives presented under the Spanish regime and the social consequences which these alternatives had. It further involves the analysis of the alternatives presented in each of the succeeding colonial periods (German, Japanese, American) in relation to both the changes caused by each preceding period and the further changes which were effected. Although the description is broken down into each of the colonial periods, the attempt will be made to portray the cumulative effects of the social change involved. All the facts are selected according to their relevance to the larger problem involving political factionalism. The central focus of the analysis will revolve around certain types of changes in the internal structure and function of Palau culture. In accordance with the theoretical statement presented in the first chapter, statuses and roles, alterations in cultural configuration (especially with reference to values) and changes in the generalized motivational structure.

Following this chapter is a description and analysis of the various factions in Palau and a concluding chapter which deals with an analysis of the cultural and institutional factors involved in the development of dysfunctional factionalism in Palau.

The Spanish Colonial Period

Spain, during its administration of Palau, was represented exclusively by the priesthood of the Catholic Church. This is sufficient evidence to warrant characterizing the Spanish colonial period as a missionary frontier. The explicit aim of this regime was conversion of the natives to the Catholic doctrine. As correlatives to this fundamental aim, the Spanish priests concerned themselves with reordering the moral structure of Palau life and all those aspects of the native society which did not conform to fundamental Catholic dogma. Thus, although the basic aim was rather specific, its implementation had effects on many parts of the indigenous system.

The first priests, arriving in Palau between 1890 and 1895, came as the official representatives of the Spanish government. Their obligations to the Spanish government were minimized to the extent that their only function was to make reports regarding conditions on Palau to a Spanish man-of-war which made occasional visits to the island. Aside from this, their power was buttressed by no other means of effective force. The priests, along with the natives, were isolated from the outside world, and this fact conditioned extensively the specific methods which they could employ in implementing their program. In general, the situation demanded that the missionaries work to a maximal

1. See pages 8 and 9 for a complete statement of the problem and paragraph b under part one on those same pages for the relationship of the present problem to the total inquiry.

degree within the native societal framework. Thus their intrusion into the native scene must be viewed as the interjection of yet another, though unequal, power variable (unequal in the sense of not having effective force to back them up) into the political structure of Palau.

Gifted with a considerable degree of anthropological sophistication, the first priests shrewdly made their initial contacts, first with Reklai of Melekeok, and then with Ibidul of Korrör. From what is now known, it can be safely inferred that both parties - the chiefs and the priests - quickly appraised the new situation and realized the benefits which each could give the other. The priests identified themselves with prestige and power - factors which enhanced the possibility of success for them; the native chiefs identified themselves with the representatives of a new religion - perhaps in their eyes a new kind of shaman - which allowed them the possibility of shaking off the sanctions against abuse of power imposed by the native shamanistic religious structure. There is, at any rate, more evidence to suggest that these early missionaries contributed to the process by which the power of the chiefs became crystallized and absolute, than to the contrary. The priests became a factor to be considered in political alignments and manipulations, and this is the first effect of their presence.

The main attack of the missionaries was directed at two basic institutions in Palau - institutionalized warfare and the blolobo (institutionalized concubinage). For reasons of morality, the blolobo was anathema to the Catholic doctrine. According to Western standards, it suggested promiscuity, commercialized sex and the defamation of virgins. For missionaries, as among others in Western civilization, warfare had been traditionally defined as morally "wrong" and inherently "bad" (despite its repeated occurrence among Western nations). According to these priests' doctrines, there was no possible compromise with warfare; it must be abolished. These, then, were the primary objectives of the Spanish missionaries.

The significant events and the play of forces which eventuated in the elimination of these two institutions cannot be recounted at this time. It suffices to say that at the turn of the century neither of these structures remained, and the functions which they served in the native social system were not replaced with others. In a sense, the social system of indigenous Palau had suffered a contraction. The alternatives presented by the missionaries involved not substitution but subtraction. Our purpose, at this point, is to describe the effects of these changes on other aspects of the indigenous system.

The significant shifts in the status structure involved the statuses of chiefs, shamans and young unmarried females. As previously stated, the mere presence of the missionaries contributed toward a crystallization of the power of chiefs. This process was accelerated by virtue of the disappearance of the warfare and blolobo patterns. The institution of warfare was partly designed to allow for flexibility and fluidity in the power

structure. The status of district chiefs, relative to each other, was contingent upon success at war which, for the most part, amounted to the exchange of Palau money. When warfare as an effective institution disappeared, the avenues through which a chief could accrue wealth, and thus prestige and/or power, were limited. The largest pieces of money, which were demanded as indemnity payments in war, were frozen in the hands of certain districts. There is no doubt that at a later period this money began to circulate again through marriage and the Kle'edoal (interdistrict labor exchange), but under these new conditions the meaning of possession also changed. Defeat in warfare meant loss of prestige and payment of money, whereas payments in marriage and Kle'edoal meant the possibility of subsequent recovery in a system of values not connected with the significance attached to warfare.

Another result was that political alliances - the bargaining relationships between districts - became less necessary since warfare was no longer a significant variable in the manipulation of power. This, of course, favored those districts which ranked highest in the last decade of the nineteenth century and helps to account for the willingness of those occupying the statuses of Reklai and Ibidul to go along with these new changes.

The effective ban placed on the blolobo can be analysed in much the same way, although it has a minor significance. This custom operated so that a district with many unmarried females could send girls out to a series of other districts from which payments were received. Hence, the number of females bore a direct ratio to the amount of money which flowed into the district. In addition to this, but of secondary importance, political marriages occasionally resulted from the blolobo which helped to cement interdistrict relationships through political alliances. The net effect resulting from the disappearance of the blolobo was a sharp reduction in the rate of circulation of money and a reordering of those aspects of political alliances which were predicated on marriages resulting from the blolobo. This meant that money remained concentrated in those districts which held it at the time when the blolobo disappeared and hence added to the crystallization of their power.

Changes in the role functions of the status of young unmarried females are significant for the effect which they had on the development of a nativist faction during the Japanese period. The category of young unmarried female refers to the age range of approximately 15 to 22, though this is, of course, an arbitrary delimitation. The specific criterion for participation in the blolobo was that the female be both past the age of puberty and unmarried, and also that she possess those qualities which in the cultural framework constituted beauty. The role of concubine served two functions: on the one hand, as a preliminary to marriage; and on the other, as a channel through which the young female could establish herself in a position of high status within the clan structure. High status accrued as a consequence of either making a good marriage or directing the flow of

money into the clan, or both. It was at this point in the life cycle that the young female could lay the foundation for a successful life (in the eyes of her clan). When the bloolobo disappeared, there was a serious gap in the previously integrated role of the young female. There can be no doubt that courtship patterns, mating patterns and status determinants changed. In short, the situation was unstructured - role activities were more poorly defined and other modes of acceptable conduct did not immediately present themselves.

In Palau the status of shaman was attacked early and directly. The role of the missionary was, of course, designed to supplant his functions. The missionary viewed the shaman as a fake and a quack who must be destroyed; the shaman regarded the missionary as an undesirable alien and a direct threat to his status position. One might infer from contemporary Palau that the relationships between these representatives of the "supernatural" have always been antagonistic. The first significant change in the role function of the shaman occurred when some of the chiefs "embraced" Catholicism. Previous to that time the shaman had positive, though indirect, veto powers over the activities of the chiefs (especially in committing a district to war and generally checking the abuse of power) and could and frequently did make this their function. For the chiefs, Christianity offered a kind of substitute shaman without the onerous restrictive powers. This also partially explains the willingness of the chiefs to "accept" Christianity (in the sense of "playing ball" with the priests, though not necessarily indicating interiorization of dogma and values to any extent) and at the same time explains the loss of certain role functions for the status of shaman. It must be cautioned that this discussion is not intended to suggest the disappearance of the shaman in Palau culture. It does, however, suggest a general trend in changing power relationships between the statuses of chief and shaman, a trend which began in the Spanish era.

In terms of changes in dominant configurations running through Palau culture, little can be inferred from this Spanish period. Since the available data is meager, such inferences would be highly presumptuous. About the only statement which one might make with assurance is that Catholic ideology probably had little influence on cultural configurations. Values held by individuals are perhaps more tenacious than any other aspect of culture. The Catholic missionaries, though effective in many other ways, did not change the basic cultural patterns which governed the functioning of the Palau social system. In short, one might be a convert to Catholicism for certain opportunistic or expedient purposes and at the same time not exchange nor interiorize an utterly alien valuational system for that inculcated by one's own culture.

In this greatly abbreviated summary, we have merely suggested the more fundamental changes which occurred in the structuring and functioning of Palau society. A new power element, the priests, was added. Warfare and the bloolobo ceased to function and were lost as structural aspects of the system. The rate of circulation and functional significance of Palau money decreased. The status-

es of chiefs, shamans and young unmarried females were altered. However, the effects of these changes, in relation to the problem of factionalism, did not occur immediately. The effects were realized during the German and Japanese periods, when these early changes were compounded and intensified.

The German Colonial Period

The character of the German colonial period stands in sharp contrast to the Spanish period in many ways. Western civilization, as presented by the Germans, was represented by the German businessman (trader), the bureaucratic official and the German Catholic priests.² This broader representation is a direct reflection of the difference between Spanish and German policy. In this period (the early 1900s), Germany was expanding its imperial frontiers under Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm. The explicit aim of this colonial policy, as reflected in Palau, was the development and exploitation of the economic potential of the Islands for consumption demands in the "homeland". This required, first and foremost, the hard-headed businessman who could not only visualize the possibilities for exploiting indigenous products, but also expand and extend the productive potential. Thus it occurred that trochus gathering was commercialized, phosphate mining on Anguar was developed, and tapioca and the coconut palm were introduced.

To implement this policy required, however, more than traders alone. As in all colonial situations of this type, the governmental official became a logical necessity. This was because the circumstances demanded a central authority for the maintenance of law and order and for the regulation of native affairs in such a way so as not to impede colonial policy. The establishment of a central authority for Micronesia by the Germans was consummated almost immediately upon their arrival. From 1900 to 1905 this government was located on Yap and from this vantage point officials made occasional visits to Palau where they had set up a local government headed by the half-blood native, James Gibbons, son of the Jamaican-English immigrant, William Gibbons. Until 1905 James Gibbons occupied a status known as Governor of Palau - a new and revolutionary change insofar as the indigenous political structure was concerned.

The establishment of this new status had the meaning of giving overt recognition to the supremacy of the foreigner's authority. The two high chiefs, Reklai and Ibidul, were placed in a position which forced them to deal with an administrative organization whose power superseded their own. In addition to this, and equally significant, was the fact that a member of the native society without lineage qualifications was selected for this top ranking position. The extent of Gibbons' "real" authority within the native society is difficult to assess at this time. Evi-

2. Palau fell into the area demarcated as Catholic territory by the German foreign office.

dence from contemporary Palau (the best basis for inference available) would suggest that it was minimal, since the channels of authority and power of the chiefs within the indigenous structure was still intact. He did, however, have authority over certain new functions added by the German administration. These included supervision of the constabulary and the local jail, and the regulation of production for export purposes. Gibbons, then, was the first occupant of the status which mediated between the internal political structure and the authority of a colonial power.

In 1905 the German administration established a branch office manned by German personnel on the island of Korrör. It was at this time that the policy of direct rule was begun. German officials directly manipulated the functioning of the Palau social system and a new era in the history of Palau's relations with foreigners was initiated. James Gibbons became a relatively secondary figure although he still performed as an advisor and interpreter to the foreign administrators.

Given the aims of German policy, which were maximally promulgated after 1905, the immediate problem becomes one of analysing their effects in terms of the changes which they induced in the structure and function of the indigenous system as it appeared at this time - i.e., within the framework of the situation as left by Spain.

The German policy (which concerned itself with economic development, missionizing, and the maintenance of law and order), when it was fully pursued, effected many aspects of Palau's social system and culture. Indigenous institutions were altered and new institutions were added. Certain statuses and roles were redefined and various aspects of the culture's valuational base were restructured. The following discussion is designed to analyse these changes and their indirect or direct effects on other aspects of the indigenous system.

The first effect of the presence of Germans on Palau was the expansion of the constabulary and the promulgation of a legal code patterned along Western lines. The presentation of such an alien legal institution on the native scene had ramifying influences on many other aspects of the system. In the first place, a new status, the constable, was superimposed on the native system. The role functions of this status involved the enforcement of regulations predicated on the rational legal codes of Western civilization, codes which were designed to explicitly define modes of conduct according to Western notions of propriety. Although the necessary compensations, which limit the effectiveness of impersonal law in a folk society, must be made, the fact remains that few Palauans were unaffected by this innovation. Failure to cultivate the coconut palm was, for example, punishable by imprisonment. The objective criterion of amount produced could be used as a basis for defining guilt. A further consequence of the utilization of native manpower in this function was that a large body of natives could now be classed as identified with the foreigner - a potential basis for schisms within the native structure.

A second important consequence of the expanded constabulary was its fortuitous effect on the bai culture of Korrör. The organized constabulary required barracks, and having been located on Korrör, the only available structures were some of the bai in that district. The Germans commandeered two of the Korrör bai and, in the case of one, dismantled and moved it to a new location. Thus, in Korrör was begun a process initiating the disintegration of the indigenous family structure and socialization patterns for the male members of the society. Men who had previously slept in the bai were forced by circumstances to take up residence in the household. Boys, previously trained in the bai, were placed in an unstructured situation which demanded training from the biological father in the household.

A third, and perhaps most significant change, stemming directly from the constabulary, was the introduction of German Marks into the native economy. Trade, prior to this time, had been mainly a matter of barter. But the payment of constables, in the absence of other means, was made in silver Marks.³ This introduced a medium of exchange which was not only valid in purchasing foreign goods, but also became functional within the native internal economy. Marks began to be used in the purchase of native produce and in the various exchange and contributory customs. Their use in the latter type of transaction placed the Mark in direct competition with Palau money. Constables without Palau money found themselves in a position of having access to a functional currency by virtue of services which they themselves performed. Here was the open avenue to status by achievement, rather than by lineage.

The most significant change which occurred was in the custom called o'eroal (house building, boat building, etc.) A person who was a constable and who did not have Palau money could, and did, make payment in Marks. In the eyes of the Palauans, to be able to contribute to these ceremonies is both a symbol of wealth and also a basis for prestige. When such payments became necessary, the constable could not only afford them, but desired to contribute in order to enhance his prestige. In this way a new basis for achieving high status was introduced, and a fundamental change occurred in the functioning of the internal economy—i.e., circulation of foreign money within it, which disturbed the operation of certain exchange customs.

Another important change induced by the German administration involved the status of the high chiefs. It will be remembered that in the Spanish era there was a tendency for their power to become crystallized. This trend, due to the necessity imposed upon foreigners for dealing with a specific and identifiable individual was continued during the German period. More power accrued to the statuses of high chief - Reklai and Ibidul. But at the same time, the power of the high chiefs was contingent upon their continued co-operation with the foreign administration. The foreign power

3. Wages were also paid partly in Palau money, derived by the Germans from fines imposed for breaches of law.

was now in a position to enforce its demands. This was categorically demonstrated when, in the early years of the German regime, a recalcitrant Reklai was deposed by the Germans and replaced by Ruluked of the third-ranking Luges clan. Although the Reklai, according to custom, retained his ritual prerogatives, it is significant that in all dealings which the foreign administration had with the Northern confederation and the district of Melekeok, Rulukuk served as the intermediary. This case objectively demonstrated the effectiveness of the foreigners' power and the tenuousness of legitimate lineage claims in their eyes. Though the status of chief acquired more power, the determination of who was to be chief was no longer dependent solely upon lineage but was also a function of conformance with the aims of the foreigner.

In about 1910 the German administration, in co-operation with the missionaries and the then incumbent, highly acculturated Ibidul, embarked on an ambitious program designed to destroy the very basis of the native, and hence heathen, religion. The factors which instigated this policy and the rationale which supported it cannot be adequately inferred at this time. Its execution can, however, be recounted. The pogrom consisted of attacks on two aspects of the institutional structure of the native religion. On the other hand, temples (places designed to receive offerings and worshippers) were arbitrarily destroyed⁴ and on the other hand, all shamans (the earthly representatives of the gods) were arrested and confined to jail on Yap. This purge was continued until the Germans left Palau in 1914. Its effects, though important, should not be over-estimated. The temple, a sacred object of the religion, represented a material support to a more deep-rooted ideological base. It is doubtful if this destruction alone was able to contribute seriously to the breakdown of the ideological basis of Palau religion. At the same time, however, there was an ideological substitute provided - Christianity in the form of Catholicism. The display of force shown in this matter by the German administration must surely have accounted for a considerable number of nominal conversions - a necessary preliminary for effective interiorization of the substitute ideology. But in the last analysis, one cannot credit this pogrom with any deep-seated changes in the basic structure of Palau values.

The persecution of the shamans struck at a most crucial aspect of Palau religion since they were the carriers of the various cultural traditions associated with that religion. When the shamans were exiled, a serious gap was created in the functioning organization of the native religion. The shaman was, in a sense, a trained artisan who knew the secrets of his guild and guarded them. Simply by virtue of the wholesale nature of German action, the shamanistic function could no longer be adequately fulfilled. Although other individuals ascended to those positions, according to traditional channels, the rights, duties and obligations of the status had to be learned and those who might instruct the initiates were no longer available.

Two important effects of this German policy suggest them-

4. At the present time only one remains, on Kayangle.

selves. First, the check and balance system which previously had existed between the chiefs and shamans was greatly restricted and perhaps even eliminated at this time. Thus, in a negative way, more power was funneled into the status of chief. Secondly, the shamanistic role which had been previously closely interwoven with the economic structure (fees for advice to other people) was now placed in a peripheral relation to it. The circulation of Palau money through the shaman was blocked which contributed to the trend, begun in the Spanish period, toward freezing money in the hands of the elite (moteet) blai. Shamans, who ordinarily stemmed from low ranking clans, performed the function of funnelling money from the top to the bottom of the class structure (similar to the Federal Reserve Bank's check on inflationary and deflationary trends). This function was for general purposes no longer executed by the shamanistic role.

Missionaries in the pursuit of their major objectives always perform certain subsidiary functions which assist the administration in achieving its goals. The German missionaries were no exception. Perhaps the major contribution made by the German priests was the establishment of a mission school. The first school was established on Korrör and its effects on the indigenous social system were manifold. In the first place, it provided a substitute role for the young men who had previously been integrated into the bai culture. It offered, so to speak, a new status to fill in the vacuum left by the breakdown of indigenous socialization patterns for young males. The mission school became the medium through which training in skills could be acquired. These skills included carpentry (a specialized skill found in Palau and now reduced to a formal educative process), agriculture and language. The agricultural training program was a direct response to the administration's demand for production. It was explicitly designed to encourage men to become farmers - a new role not eagerly accepted. Palau men were fishermen, hunters and ritualists and agriculture was a female occupation. This program was not successful and only after many years of Japanese encouragement did it become partially accepted. The training of Palauans in the use of the German language and the reduction of the Palau language to writing were perhaps the most significant services performed by the mission school.

In indirect fashion, this school accounted for two new statuses within the native structure - the interpreter and the scribe. These new statuses, although not fully developed until the Japanese era, had their beginnings in this period. The interpreter in a colonial situation performs a function without which relationships between the foreigner and native could not be carried on. His position is unique and the services he performs are indispensable. The interpreter has access to many types of information - dealings between chiefs and administrators, rumors and facts flowing within both the foreign and native social systems - which allows him a better basis for anticipating future events. He becomes counselor to the deprived and advisor to the powerful on the basis of his understanding of the foreigner's "mentality"

and his presumed intimate contact with the foreign authority. In short, the interpreter becomes a powerful character, not only in his own right, but also because he is most frequently chosen for positions in the foreigner's administrative offices.

The status of scribe, although frequently played by interpreters, has role functions of its own. Individuals occupying this status are responsible for translating the written word of the foreigner into the native tongue. Thus this position provides prior access to information and allows for the manipulation (conscious and unconscious) of the foreigner's intentions. To this status also accrues a considerable degree of power in the same sense as it does to the interpreter. Together, the interpreter and scribe play an increasingly important role in the history of Palau's contact with foreigners.

The economic structure of Palau was seriously altered in the German period, although not nearly as extensively as it was modified in the Japanese era. The effects of the introduction of the Mark, the concentration of money in the hands of the elite and the reduction of women's control over money, have already been mentioned. It remains to consider the consequences of the German program which aimed at and achieved the creation of surplus agricultural production and exploitation of natural resources. Surpluses in agriculture consisted primarily of tapioca and coconuts. The resources exploited included trochus shell and phosphate on the Island of Angaur.

The net effect of this economic policy may be summarized under the following headings: 1) creation of purchasing power in the foreign market; 2) the intensification of certain exchange customs; 3) introduction of a new status, the wage laborer who worked away from home; and 4) the possession of foreign money in the hands of men. The creation of purchasing power on the foreign market had the effect of making possible the introduction of many new types of foreign goods - implements, steel beds, etc. The value of foreign money could be objectively validated by its usefulness in satisfying new wants. Of course, material increments do not in themselves profoundly alter the structure of a native society, but the meanings attached to material objects may have significant results. Thus, for example, the possession of large quantities of foreign goods or exclusive ownership of preferred items were quickly interpreted as symbols of high status within the native class structure. The effect on the class structure of such possession was to reinforce it in some respects and to weaken it in others. Goods flowed into the internal economy largely according to one's class position (since possession of money also correlates with class position) and hence the upper ranking individuals were able to reinforce their positions. On the other hand, any individual with an intuitive capitalist-ic "know-how" could function within the foreigner's economic system and acquire wealth which then became a basis for prestige within the native system. Out of this developed an incipient class of small-time entrepreneurs who could move up the native class ladder on the basis of their own initiative.

A second consequence of the creation of purchasing power was that new goods became the object of personal possession which required modifications in inheritance patterns ('elebe'iil). In Palau, a society oriented to materialism, this became a crucial factor. The question of who should inherit the bed - the husband's or the wife's merreder - was a basis for endless dispute and social strain in an unstructured situation. Implicit cultural norms were not designed to cover these innovations.

The intensification of exchange customs begun in the German period represent a minor, though significant, forerunner to the wholesale changes which followed during the Japanese period. Agricultural surpluses, though intended for export, were in part diverted for use within the internal economy through the circuitous channels of omelu'el (tele'ul and orrau). When more food became available through improved production, the produce involved in the "gifts" constituting tele'ul was increased, both in quantity and type. In addition, the incidence of tele'ul shipments was increased. Whereas formerly a merreder might send small and infrequent tele'uls to his female relatives, the surplus of goods allowed him to indulge in these shipments much more frequently.

By the nature of the custom, orrau too became more frequent and the effect of this was threefold: 1) Palau money designated for use in this custom circulated more rapidly; 2) foreign money began to circulate within the native economy since Marks were quickly redistributed (through the mechanisms of the custom) throughout the internal system, although eventually they tended to localize in the hands of moteet in the same fashion as Palau money. Thus the new channel through which a man could achieve status also had its threatening aspects: his foreign money could be taken from him by his wife's relatives. And at the same time, a woman lost her unitary control over money because she could no longer know exactly how much of the foreign money her husband possessed.

The new status - the wage laborer - arose directly from German mining operations and needs little elaboration at this time except to point up its relation to the status of men generally. There is perhaps some basis for suggesting that the role of minor provided a neat substitute for those men forced by German measures to live in the household. This was not only a way to retain a semblance of independence in a matrilineal system, but also afforded opportunities for acquiring foreign money. Also with the general de-emphasis on the ritual aspects of the Palau man's life, this tended to fulfill the function of providing new occupational roles for young men.

The control of foreign money in the hands of men resulted partially from the structure of the foreigner's social system. Western conceptions regarding the role of women in society precluded her participation in the economic system - though this of course did not correspond to native conceptions. Thus the

foreigner's economic system defined the situation in such a way as to allow only males to participate within it. Men became laborers, interpreters, constables, officials, etc. and foreign currency was thus directed into their hands. Given the great significance of the Mark as legitimate currency, the power of the male was enhanced to the detriment of the female.

In general cultural terms, it becomes possible to perceive rudimentary changes in certain Palau configurations. Three outstanding factors suggest a trend toward acceptance of basic Western valuations of "progress". These factors, which together constitute the basis from which the above inference can be made include: 1) the high value placed by Palauans on education; 2) the high value placed on foreign material goods; and 3) the development of a factional movement whose ideology was based on a "better" Palau of the future (see Chapter IV, Section I). It is apparent that many Palau people were eager to accept and interiorize those aspects of the foreign system which would permit their forward development - luxuries, technical efficiency and knowledge of the world. In a sense they had made an invidious comparison between themselves and "civilization" and were eager to match their superordinates. The "progressive" faction was a reaction against German measures designed to prevent the too rapid rise of standards of living and best symbolized the degree to which the concept of progress had been interiorized.

In summary, the German colonial period accounted for changes in the economic, religious and power structures of Palau as left by the Spanish priests. Status changes included many additions - the schoolboy, constables, businessmen, interpreters, scribe. There were also some status alterations - functions of the feminine role were delimited, power of chiefs became contingent on colonial authority, shamans were driven underground and there was an enhancement of the power of the male status. The ramifications of some of these more basic changes was briefly traced and the introduction of the notion of progress was suggested as a basic change in the configuration of Palau culture.

The Japanese Colonial Period

The Japanese period in Palau may be conveniently broken down into four phases. These are: 1) the Naval period, extending from 1914 to 1922; 2) the period of the South Seas Bureau from 1922 to 1937; 3) the Asiatic war period from 1937 to 1944 during which the S.S.B. began to relinquish its authority to military officials; and 4) the Palau war period when the military assumed complete control of the administration of Palau. In each case, except for the last, Japanese policy remained consistent, but the means used to implement policy were subtly shifted from phase to phase. The Naval phase emphasized forceful direct rule - objectives had to be achieved in military fashion. During the S.S.B. administration the means were implemented through direct rule, but the administration became sensitized to the pragmatic utility of working through natives in accomplishing its aims, e.g., natives were integrated into the

administration's bureaucratic structure. In the third phase, the "kid-gloves" policy began to give way once again to direct forceful rule, but this was a gradual change which became fully effective only when the pressure of the empire's war had become severe in the early 1940s. The Palau war phase corresponds to the period circumscribed by the first U.S. air attacks on Babelthaup in March of 1944 and the surrender of Japanese forces in September of 1945. In this period life was purely a matter of survival. Japanese civilians, troops, and Palauans alike existed in a completely unstructured situation of extreme stress. There were no regulations or cultural norms which prescribed modes of behavior for relations between one human being and another. The Japanese social system was predicated on individualism. The Palau people fared somewhat better since there was always the security of clan solidarity and familiarity with the land. The events in this phase constitute a subject for study in themselves. They involve the entire problem of what happens to a native society placed in a condition of stress by the effects of modern warfare. As such, this phase was a break in the continuity of the historical development of factions in Palau and will not be included in this discussion.

How may the main outlines of Japanese policy be characterized? This author has derived four central factors which, for present purposes, best delineate the total aims of the Japanese colonial administration. First, Japanese objectives were aimed at integrating the indigenous economy into the economy of the rest of the mandated territory and of the homeland. This integration was to occur in the most complete and total way - to the extent of: 1) island specialization in those products which could be produced most cheaply and abundantly; 2) inter-island trade; 3) imports and exports with the rest of the empire; and 4) breaking down the patterns of indigenous economic relationships. This policy was promulgated from the beginning to the end of the Japanese period.

Secondly, an explicit policy to induce forced acculturation of the natives to Japanese life-ways was promoted throughout the years. This was a policy of direct rule over the native system and direct interference with the functioning and structure of native society. The overall design of this policy was aimed at remaking Palau culture and personality structure to fit the Japanese mold. There was only one contingency in this policy and that was to retain a caste differentiation between the Japanese and the people of Palau. Thirdly, Palau was conceived of as a settlers' frontier for Japanese nationals, Koreans, Okinawans and Formosans. Successful appeals to settle in Palau were made to the economically destitute, the unlanded farmer, the small-scale businessman and the small-time official whose ambition was to move up the bureaucratic hierarchy. Immigrants began to arrive in Palau almost immediately and were eager for part of the spoils of the island. By 1938 or 1939, by way of offering a contrast, Palau was populated with 20,000 of these foreigners - 10,000 in Korror alone. The years between 1914

and 1939 each accounted for a share of immigrants, but by far the largest proportion arrived in the decade of the thirties. These people brought Japanese culture with them -- life-ways, music, art, books, the radio and printed page and technology -- and were utilized by the administration as the objective demonstration of the superiority of Japanese civilization. Their presence throughout Palau infinitely facilitated the process of acculturating the Palau people.

The fourth and last policy concerned utilizing Palau as a military establishment. Top level Japanese strategical planning had from the very beginning considered Palau's tactical importance. But it was not until the latter half of the 1930s that the program for the military defense of Palau was initiated. Communication and transportation facilities had been extensively developed prior to that time, but these were ostensibly for civilian purposes. By 1935 the undisguised military defense program was underway. This of course brought new immigrants in large numbers and initiated the period of Palau's greatest economic prosperity - the homeland in this period was supporting the island economy.

Stated in such general terms, the Japanese objectives tell little of their effect on the native society. It remains to consider in detail the subsidiary aims which derive from the four major objectives and which properly delineate Japan's program in Palau.

Among the first steps taken by the new Japanese administration was the establishment of a government-financed "culture tour" program. Each year between 1915 and 1924, a group of Palauans was selected and sent to Japan for a period of one to two months. The program's ostensible purpose was to provide a gratuitous vacation to those willing to accept it. Its rational purpose, from the Japanese point of view, was to facilitate the willingness of the Palau people to accept and interiorize Japanese culture. These "cultural tours" were the first attempt at implementing the acculturation program. The first contingent of "tourists" was selected from the highest ranking families in Palau - especially the Udes and Idid - with the expectation that if the upper classes could be influenced to accept Japanese culture, the other classes would follow. To a certain extent this hypothesis was validated by the events which occurred upon the return to Palau of the first group of tourists. The greatest shock for the natives resulted from the changes in the visible appearance of this group. They had left Palau wearing their finest loin cloths, without shoes and wearing long hair held in place with the traditional comb; and they returned home clothed in Japanese attire, with their hair shorn. This group then formed the nucleus through which the program to introduce Japanese attire was successfully achieved. The Ibidul of Korrer became the staunchest native exponent of this measure. Subsequent tours recruited individuals from lower ranking classes until eventually approximately 500 Palauans had visited Japan. After 1924 the tours were continued for those who could pay their own way; and throughout the 1930s the administration

sponsored students for further technical training in Japan. This program, simple and direct though it was, provided a firm foundation for eliciting a favorable response to Japanese culture from the Palau people. Upon it hinged the basis of the success of many other aspects of Japanese policy. It was, in a sense, a necessary condition for the success of the total over-all Japanese policy. But in addition to this, it added a new basis for making status distinctions. Having been to Japan offered an objective basis for distinguishing between those who did and those who did not have connections with the foreigner's social system.

Other aspects of the acculturation program included: 1) an extensive educational program; and 2) subsidization and encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missions. The first government-sponsored schools were established in 1915 in Korrer and Melekeok. In 1922, under the S.S.B., additional schools were added in Peliliou, Anguar and Ngarard. Formal education, introduced in the German period, had virtually become universalized. All children - both boys and girls - from the ages of eight to thirteen or fourteen were exposed to four or five years of training in the Japanese language, civics, world geography, Japanese music and elementary arithmetic. The role of the child was drastically altered and new problems such as, for example, the relationship between metoet and ebuul children in school were created. The Japanese teacher treated all children alike and class-room grades, the basis for measuring achievement, did not always correspond to one's class position as determined by lineage. The structure of the Japanese school did, indeed, at this very early date contribute to the breakdown of the rigid and fixed class distinctions. Moreover, the school system over a period of years produced a whole class of bilingual natives. From 1920 on, the interpreter no longer held a job monopoly. Almost any young man could adequately converse in Japanese and carry on business with the foreigner. The interpreter who formerly achieved status through his knowledge of language, per se, needed the additional qualification of outstanding performance in academic work before he was selected for responsible positions within the foreigner's social system. Another effect of the Japanese form of educational system was that it created the status of the native teacher. The school itself was usually managed by a Japanese official who had under him a faculty of Palauan teachers. The significance of this can only be understood when the full meaning of the role of the teacher in Japanese society is comprehended. For the Japanese, a teacher is not only a trainer of young minds, but is also: 1) the carrier of the "best" aspects of "culture"; 2) a person with prestige rating equivalent to the elite in society; and 3) a person with informal advisory authority in the same sense as a government official. This conception of the teacher was presented to and interiorized by the Palau people. Those natives who became teachers in the Japanese school system became high status individuals with power extending far beyond the confines of the school, e.g., adjusting courtship problems, marital difficulties and petty crimes; advising the local cons-

table; and interpreting administrative orders for the chiefs. A last effect of this expanded school system was its opening of new mediums through which success could be achieved despite the indigenous class structure. Opportunities were opened for promising students to obtain training in new skills (nurses' aides, mechanics, pharmacists, accountants, etc.) in specialized schools. Furthermore, jobs were available for those who were able to acquire the skills. Young men, especially, could revolt from the onerous aspects of the indigenous system in an acceptable way. Through this medium, high status could be achieved in a system which straddled both Palau and Japanese society.

The financial assistance given to the Catholic and Protestant missionaries was predicated on the assumption that any force contributing to change was a move in the proper direction. Missionaries also attempted to Westernize primitives, and this aspect of their activities corresponded directly with Japanese objectives. So far as the Japanese administration was concerned, however, this was considered a peripheral attack on the native system and was never bittressed with the authority of the colonial office. For this reason, the change effected by the missionaries on the native social system and its value foundations was minimized.

The consistent policy of direct rule pursued by the Japanese administration had effects on the internal power structure different from those which had occurred in both the German and Spanish periods. Direct rule in this era meant not only deposing "legitimate" chiefs if they did not co-operate, but also reducing the power of all chiefs and making them puppet-like figures. As an example of the first instance, both the legitimate Ibidul and Reklai were deposed in the Naval period and replaced by individuals without the "necessary" lineage qualifications. This measure was employed against many district and lesser chiefs throughout the period. This, it will be recalled, was not an exception from the pattern established by the German administration. The significant change occurred in the reduction of the power of all chiefs. This was partly effected by the efficient and omnipresent Japanese police force, which, with the assistance of the school teacher, was able to oversee the chiefs' activities and in some cases to implement power directly. This of course referred only to that aspect of the power of the chiefs which related to the foreigner's regulations and orders. But the limitation of their power was more extensive than this and, in fact, in the latter half of the decade of the thirties, they were virtually powerless. This condition resulted from other aspects of Japanese policy which might briefly be anticipated here. Due to certain changes in political matters (the chief was no longer the arbitrator in disputes), land tenure patterns (the concept of private property) and the restriction of the functioning of the exchange and contributory customs, the economic base which supported the chiefs' power position was cut out from under them. A new class of individuals arose who literally usurped the power of

the chiefs. In one case, as mentioned above, these were the Japanese policemen. But more important, insofar as the internal power structure was concerned, was the rise of a class of natives who derived power directly from the Japanese administration. These individuals were: 1) the constables (and especially the chief constable); 2) the bureaucratic official who functioned within Japanese officialdom (postal clerks, office-boys, typists, translators, etc.); and 3) the official advisors to the Japanese administration (the court-clerk, the trusted free-lance politician, whose usefulness was based on his knowledge of the ins-and-outs of native politics, and the information expert who had insight into his own culture and who could put into words the manner of its functioning). These people, though not always possessing prestige, did wield authority. When a chief anticipated dealings with the Japanese administration, he was wise if he consulted with one of these individuals. The group as a whole constitutes the nucleus of the collaborationist faction (discussed in the following chapter).

The most widespread changes in the structure and functioning of Palau society flowed from Japanese economic policy. This policy, designed to integrate the Palau economy into the greater East-Asian economic sphere, defined Palau as a source of supply and profit, a potential market for consumption and production goods, and as a potential source for a labor force.

The consequences of the policy which conceived of Palau as a source of supply and profit were manifold. First, the production of surplus agricultural products was increased and new types of crops were introduced into the native economy. The land resource was fully exploited by increases in the production of coconuts, tapioca, bananas, papaya, watermelon, pineapple and garden vegetables (cucumbers, onions, ginger, yams, etc.). Secondly, a program for the complete exploitation of the other indigenous natural resources was instigated. This program was responsible for the development of the following industries: 1) lumbering on Babelthaup; 2) phosphate mining on Peliliou and Angaur; 3) Bauxite mining on Babelthaup and 4) the fishing industry which exploited the lush waters surrounding Palau. Although these policies were designed primarily to sustain the colonizers and provide them with an occupational base, they had real effects on the native inhabitants. The agricultural expansion program induced native farmers to produce for sale on the market. Vegetable and fruit markets were set up in Korrör and a class of middle-men who could move produce from the farm to the market place appeared. In connection with copra production, the status of broker (occupied by Palauans) mediated the product between the native producer and the Japanese exporter. Profits were made all along the line by the broker and the Japanese settler. And the agricultural producer developed the usual grievances and resentment against the "profiteering" and "market-manipulating" middle-man. By 1935 the need for agricultural production had become so great that the administration, with the assistance of the collaborationist faction, organized producers' co-operatives (Ku-

miai) to regulate and control it. Those aspects of the native economy concerned with the production of agricultural products were, therefore, completely integrated into the larger economy.

The exploitation of the other natural resources entailed a whole series of other changes in Palau. Transportation facilities were improved - power driven vessels made regular runs to all points in Palau, carrying passengers and supplies; paved roads were built on Korror and Babelthaup to facilitate the movements of supplies and personnel (and later, troops). Very early in the Japanese period the pressure on the land became severe and two drastic measures were taken. In 1922 the most drastic ecological change ever witnessed in Palau was eventuated. Whole villages which had previously been located in the interior of the islands were moved to the seashore. The face of Palau was literally remolded so as to better fit the conditions of the new commercial-industrial economy. Beginning in 1927 a series of land reforms was begun to free the soil from the restrictive shackles of ancient tradition. In these measures clan lands were expropriated by the Japanese government. Blai land, previously controlled by the morredor, was redefined as the property of individuals. The concept of private property, with its attendant rights to buy and sell and rent land, so important to a capitalistic economy, was fully established. This provided an open avenue for the real-estate dealer and the speculator, who in many cases were able to make small fortunes.

Profit-making in a colonial situation can be a two-way process. Buying goods for resale, the process described above is one method. Selling manufactured goods on the native market is the other. And in the second respect the Japanese excelled. Every conceivable product, from popsicles, clothing, radios and bric-a-brac, were dumped on the native market. The results of the exploitation of the Palau market led to the universal use of Yen as a medium of exchange in purchasing foreign goods. Also, the Yen was used to a greater and greater extent in transactions within the native economy. The opening of the Palau market further accounted for the rise of the small shop-keeper in the outlying districts. And, most important, the money economy introduced the notion of "saving" for future contingencies. The Japanese administration opened banks for Palau depositors and interest was paid on long-term savings accounts. This last fact, combined with the lending function of the bank, introduced the Western version of the concept of capital. The comprehension of the function of capital⁵ and the ability to manipulate it became necessary qualifications for success in the business world. A sizeable group of young men learned these principles and thus was created in Palau a petty bourgeoisie of businessmen, traders, brokers, etc.

It was a fact that Japanese economic policy could not be implemented without the utilization of the native labor force.

5. There are some close analogies to this concept within the indigenous economic structure.

Miners, stevedores, seamen, construction workers and unskilled laborers were necessary to effectively carry out the program. Certainly the Japanese peasant did not leave his homeland only for an equivalent status on a far-off island. Palau labor was necessary to fulfil those less esteemed occupations without which a capitalistic-industrial economy could not function. These new low-status occupations restructured the context of the situation within which a large sector of the male population had to find a means of livelihood. There were compelling forces (among them the pressure on the land and conscript labor) which drove young men, especially in the age range from 18 to 35, to seek employment outside the indigenous economy. This created drastic changes.

First, the demands for labor made by the Japanese directly contributed to the complete breakdown of the 'aldebe'el (men's clubs) organization. The 'aldebe'el of Korrer had disintegrated in the German period, but remained functional in the rest of Palau until 1922 or 1923. At this time, and coinciding with the transplanting of the villages, the pressure for native labor was increasing. The Japanese administration simply established labor quotas for each district and left to the chiefs the responsibility for producing the personnel.

Prior to 1922 the various districts provided the labor by calling on 'aldebe'el groups in rotating order. This had the inherent disadvantage of requiring of old men work which they were not physically able to perform. Furthermore, when labor demands were increased, the old recruitment system neither worked well nor was efficient. These two factors induced a radical change from vertically organized men's clubs to horizontally organized age grades.⁶ The 'aldebe'el groups which previously constituted the nucleus of men's activities (socialization, training, comradeship, ritual) gave way to a new structure. The new terminology suggests the structure of the new organization. Young men (15 to 35) belonged to the Sienen Dan (young men's organization); middle-aged men (35 to 55) became known as 'aldebe'el - the Palau term; and the term "rubak" was applied indiscriminately to all old men, regardless of clan standing - the previous restriction on the term. The functions of these groups can be defined according to labor performed: 1) Sienen Dan worked on jobs outside the district; 2) 'aldebe'el were responsible for work within the district; and 3) the rubak stayed at home and were considered too old to work. Both the Sienen Dan and 'aldebe'el groups had an internal organization with elected officers for the district organization as a whole and for each sub-unit found in the villages. The various district groups were further organized on a confederation basis with officers also at this level. Needless to say, there was a

6. The respective parts played by the chiefs and the Japanese administration in this change cannot be assessed -- hence the term "induce".

close correspondence between the status of an official in these organizations and class standing. In addition to this, a series of corresponding structures was established for women, although their function in this case was poorly defined. These were called Joshi Chunen Dan (young women's organization); and Chunen Dan (middle-aged women); and "m'las" became a term applied indiscriminately to all old women.

The second change which followed from the Japanese labor policy was the heavy concentration of a large sector of the native male population in Korrer and in the mining areas. This, of course, placed the men in closer contact with the Japanese and added to their involvement in the acculturation process. By the decade of the thirties Korrer had become a metropolitan center - urbanized in the true sense of the word. It had become a focal point in the Japanese overseas transportation routes and the seat of the Japanese colonial government for the Caroline Islands. Fishing vessels navigated through its harbors. A radio station and newspaper plant supplied information to its inhabitants. All was not business, however - the ubiquitous "geisha" house, tea shop and candy store made their appearance. Korrer became the symbol of the secular way of life and a large number of native inhabitants were directly exposed to its influence. Unfortunately the effects of this exposure cannot be adequately analysed from the vantage point of the author. All that can be inferred is that, without doubt, this greatly facilitated the process of acculturation and the interiorization of the foreigner's norms - which in turn contributed to the changing of the indigenous social systems and of cultural configurations.

However, the most important effect of this wholesale transplantation of young men was the weakening of kinship ties. By the sheer removal of young men from the household and the local village into Korrer and the mining districts for extended periods of time, this sector of the population gained a semblance of independence from the restrictions of the indigenous system. For example, marriages could be consummated away from the clan with the aid of a Japanese official (and not according to traditional marriage rules); men could live in a hotel or with friends, since everyone did not have a close relative in Korrer; and the young men had pocket change to buy necessities so that economic dependence on relatives was reduced. For this group, kinship affiliations no longer constituted the primary basis of social control or the door to security in their lives.

In the last few pages, we have moved too fast to spell out in detail all the subsidiary changes (due to the inter-relatedness of any social or cultural system) which occur in the structure and functioning of the Palau social system. We have already mentioned certain institutional changes and have suggested numerous new statuses which were projected onto the native system. Alterations in role functions have been described wherever they seemed pertinent to the main problems under consideration. It remains to co-ordinate the content of the pre-

coding discussion with the following factors: 1) the problem of the exchange and contributory customs; 2) the problem of Palau money; 3) the development of the new "elite" in Palau; and 4) the continuation of certain trends initiated by the German regime.

The exchange and contributory customs (described in Chapter II) were seriously altered as a direct consequence of Japanese economic policy. Trends along this line were indicated in the previous section dealing with the German era. These trends came to fruition under the Japanese. With the tremendous increase in the accessibility and circulation of Yen, all of these customs came to demand part or whole payment in Yen. Thus was created a serious impediment to the free circulation of Yen for the purchase of Japanese goods.

Due to the general circular nature of these customs, a rather large amount of Yen was tied up within the indigenous system to sustain them. In addition to this, the sources which funneled Yen into the native economy were limited in certain ways. Agricultural producers, businessmen, wage laborers and government officials composed the group which had direct access to Yen and were also the group from which Yen were drawn into the native economy via the exchange and contributory customs (i.e., their wives made demands for payments to their merreders). Other changes in the operation of these customs may be briefly mentioned. As early as 1927, a Palauan, named Oseked, was able to buy a power-driven boat. With this boat and a large number of relatives who worked his land, Oseked (blessed with many married female relatives) embarked on a program which commercialized the omelu'el. Large quantities of food were produced which were then loaded onto his boat and systematically delivered to female relatives whose relationship connections with him were extremely tenuous. The rapid means of communication enabled him to deliver fresh fish and fresh vegetables to distant points with a guarantee against spoilage in transit.⁷ In a very short period of time, this enterprising individual became a wealthy man in both Palau money and Yen. In other cases, o'eroal came to be used as a means for acquiring power-driven boats, motorcycles, automobiles, and so forth. In one gross instance, for example, a merreder initiated an o'eroal for the purpose of securing a boat for his nephew. In keeping with the custom, the female relatives shouldered the burden with money received from their husbands. The crowning touch occurred when this same merreder called another o'eroal to purchase a boat for the brother of the first nephew. When the money was collected, it was used to purchase the first nephew's boat for the second nephew, his brother.

These facts led to a reform of these customs in 1934⁸ which redefined them in such a way as to correct the abuses

7. If food was rotten, a recipient of an omelu'el had grounds for embarrassing the sender.

8. See the discussion in Chapter IV dealing with the collaborators in the Japanese era for a more complete discussion of this reform.

mentioned above. The effect of the reform was to allow for the development of a "purer" form of capitalism, unimpeded by the interference of the native economy. It also cut out the economic base of the chiefs and paved the way for individuals without high lineage qualifications to acquire wealth in the form of Yen.

The problem of Palau money involves two aspects: first its tenacious grip on the social system and, at the same time, the weakening of its effective meaning in Palau society. The more important large pieces have never lost their significance as power and prestige symbols. However, many of the lesser pieces were driven out of circulation by the deluge of Yen into the economy and by other idiosyncratic factors.⁹ The significant facts to be considered here are: 1) the direct exchange of all sizes of Palau money for yen; and 2) the stabilization of the value of certain pieces of Palau money. In the decade of the thirties many meteet individuals who had depended on the exchange customs as a source of livelihood and income found themselves without adequate means. In these straits their large and valuable pieces of Palau money (useless, however, on the market) had become luxury items. In several outstanding cases, these pieces were sold in exchange for Yen mounting to the thousands. This represented a trend through which the rising capitalist might buy the symbols of high status and prestige - in fact his obuul (lower-class) wife might be seen wearing the exclusive items.

The stabilization of the value of Palau money was achieved by pegging its value to the Yen. The most notable example of this was the Kluk which was equated at 100 Yen, but this occurred in a similar way for a number of other pieces. This measure constituted a direct threat to the meteet and the so-called money "expert", both of whom possessed the knowledge of the tradition and history of the various places, which placed them in a favorable bargaining position. The stabilization policy also removed the ambiguity of transactions involving Palau money and made it possible to meet obligations in either Yen or Palau money. And it also had a levelling effect, in conjunction with the custom reform, in redistributing Palau money more equitably among the various classes - the reverse of the trend noted in the German period.

The rise of the new elite was a result of many of the factors mentioned above. The creation of new statuses as a result of Japanese economic policy, the opening of new channels for acquiring wealth, the breakdown of the economic foundations of the meteet class, the open sale of Palau money for Yen - all these contributed to the formation of a new elite whose foundations were rooted in the changes induced by Japanese colonial policy. Although the meteet were feared, they were no longer esteemed. High esteem was now accorded to the capitalist-

9. The report of Mr. Robert Ritzenthaler may be consulted for a complete treatment of the various aspects of Palau money and especially its fate during the Japanese period.

businessmen, the governmental advisor and the trained technician.

The continuation of certain trends begun in the German period need be only briefly mentioned. Codified law describing criminal and civil offences were completely implemented and, in addition to this, clan problems arising from land disputes and Palau money problems were handled in the Japanese court. A native court clerk was employed, a highly strategic position by virtue of his being in a spot to determine what "did and did not" conform to the cultural tradition. The constabulary played an increasingly important role. Local police stations were set up in various strategic districts and were manned by both a Japanese policeman and a Palauan constable. The functions of the policeman included, among other things, direct intervention in personal and civic problems. The constable served as informer and right hand man for the policeman. His position commanded respect and favor because he could both protect and incriminate, according to his personal relations, other members of the native society.

The discussion has so far outlined the main institutional, status and role, changes which occurred in the Palau social system between the years 1914 and 1944. The treatment was purposely placed outside of a chronological framework so as to better highlight the inter-related character of the many changes which flowed from Japanese colonial policy. The total economic system was seen to be related to status changes, changes in role functions and changes in the operation of the exchange customs. Power relationships were altered as a direct consequence of the Japanese policy of direct rule. Many of the acculturative forces impinging upon the native social system and personality structure were indicated. The Japanese policy of directly manipulating the native system accounted for serious ecological changes, custom reforms, land reforms and Palau money reforms. In the light of all these factors, it is not an exaggeration to call this an era of revolutionary change in Palau.

When the spotlight is beamed on the total cultural screen, it is then possible to perceive certain changes in those cultural configurations which orient the Palauan to his world. First, one may note a distinct reinforcement of the concept of progress. Considering the culture tours, the development of Koror into a metropolitan center, the introduction of many aspects of Japanese industrial technology (transport and communication facilities, heavy equipment, modern mechanical tools, etc.) and the wholesale transplantation of Japanese culture (including newspapers, radio, education, religion, etc.) into Palau, it becomes possible to comprehend the willingness of many Palau people to place implicit faith in the notion that Palau under the foreigner should forever continue to expand and progress. To back up this implicit faith, one only had to point to the existential realities as they appeared in the decade of the thirties.

But other aspects of Palau cultural configurations also changed. These may be characterized as: 1) the movement toward rationality and efficiency; and 2) the movement away from native ethnocentrism toward nationalism. A certain degree of rationalistic thinking is a necessary condition for the successful functioning of an industrial-capitalistic economy. Efficiency and hard work are corollaries of rationalism and constitute the fundamental means through which progress can be implemented. The market relationship and the concept of profit contribute to the development of these notions.

Certain aspects of indigenous Palau were similar enough to these innovations to provide a ready basis for their further development. The native economic system attuned the individual in Palau to think in terms of money relationships. Through cunning and shrewdness and the proper manipulation of the exchange customs, for example, an individual could achieve prestige and success. The calculating character was an old phenomenon in Palau. It only remained for the Japanese to provide the rational basis (the transportation time table, the punch clock, the systematic office file, and the orderly arrangement of the bureaucratic office) necessary to integrate this aspect of Palau thought (i.e. risk-taking, prestige in terms of money, individual enterprise) with a systematic capitalist market economy.

A caution or two is certainly necessary here. The process through which these new norms were interiorized was certainly slow and gradual; and furthermore, it was selective according to certain elements in the population. Those individuals who had the greatest number and most favorable contacts with the Japanese were most likely to interiorize these norms. Another very important sector of the population was explicitly and overtly opposed to all such new conceptions. The factional movement called *Modokugie* (fully discussed in the following chapter) was diametrically opposed to such innovations.

Palau ethnocentrism suffered a rude shock when the totality of Japanese culture was put on display. The old belief in "our people's superiority" was difficult to retain in the face of contrary facts which the Palau mentality could not conveniently exclude from its perception. In response to this, an almost extreme reaction formation occurred. Self-depreciation in dealing with the foreigner became the usual mode of behavior. But there was still one way out in order to preserve the esteem of one's culture and therefore of oneself (because of the close ego involvement in such a folk society). This was conveniently structured for the Palauans by the Japanese. The latter, through a program of inter-island competition (Yap, Truk, etc.) in such matters as athletic events, production records, savings thermometers, etc., defined a self-contained competitive microcosm. The situation was structured so as to exclude from the perception of the islanders consideration of the might and power of the outside world. Micronesia became the "effective world" and in this sphere the Palau people could compete as equals.

It was out of this situation that the incipient nationalism developed. Palau, for purposes of inter-island competition, was conceived of as a unified whole, and this notion cut across the otherwise rigid barriers of the confederation organization. Hence, for many purposes, the slogan "for the good of Palau" became an effective appeal, especially if an invidious comparison was made to the other islands, such as Yap or Truk.

The United States Colonial Period

The positive statements which one can make about the United States period are limited in number. Palau was under the control of the United States for a span of only three years at the time that the field work was conducted. Moreover, the first year of this period coincided with the rapid demobilization and restructuring of the American armed forces. From the point of view of the United States administration, the readjustment involved a change from the tactics of warfare to the tactics of administering a colonial area on a peace-time basis. For the Palau social system the adjustment involved making a new orientation to a different colonial policy.

Under the circumstances, the structure of United States colonial policy, as administered by Naval officials, took shape rather rapidly. In general terms, this author feels that the following factors characterize that policy: 1) the occupation of Palau with a minimal number of troops for military security purposes; 2) fulfillment of the obligations imposed by the United Nations Trusteeship Charter; and 3) indirect rule as the basic means used to govern the native society.

What is the meaning of this policy insofar as it affects the native social and cultural systems? The maintenance of Palau as a security outpost has entailed the quartering of a Naval administrative, supply and maintenance staff on the island of Korrör. To sustain this garrison, certain public works projects (such as roads, water supply maintenance, etc.) have either been completed, or are projected for future construction. Furthermore, communication routes to other parts of the world (Guam, Hawaii, The United States) have been opened and maintained. The United Nations trusteeship obligations call for provision for medical care (hospital and staff), educational training (schools, academic and vocational training), and non-exploitation of the native labor force. The question of the development of Palau's natural resources (fishing, phosphate, bauxite) remains unsettled. Current trends indicate that such a program would not be government-sponsored, but rather would take the form of government regulation of private investment. For purposes of this report, this factor need not be considered, since it is not as yet a force impinging upon Palau. The basic principle underscoring the philosophy of the United States administration is indirect rule. This involves a maximum control over those agencies maintaining law and order (security purposes require a

non-violent situation), and a minimum of control over other aspects of native society. In the end, it involves a maximum amount of self-rule by the Palauans.

These policies stand in sharp contrast to those pursued by the Japanese. The entire United States program is predicated on an economically self-sufficient Palau. The number of dollars flowing into the native economy is limited to both money received from the sale of a few export items (trochus, copra, and crafts), and to wages received from employment in the foreigner's economic system (the wage-earners include perhaps seventy-five individuals). The general overall picture calls for a minimum of integration of the indigenous economy into the larger economy. It also calls for a refurbishing of the native economy and a return to agrarianism.

The educational and health programs are also aimed at eventual self-sufficiency. An educational program designed to train native teachers, nurses and practical doctors is well under way. The ultimate, future aim of the administration is to retain for itself only supervisory functions. Self-rule has returned to the indigenous system the power and authority formerly wielded by the Japanese. The difficulties at this point are manifold. In this general movement toward a return to the old system, it becomes impossible, due to the many changes in Palau life over the period of sixty years, to adequately define the exact characteristics of the old system. The administrator is faced with the problem of establishing a suitable base point for Palau culture and attempting to function within its framework. The most vexing problem arises from the fact that power was returned to the chiefs. To return power to the chiefs is a fairly simple matter, but to define the limits of that power according to the old system or according to any new system, becomes an extremely complex problem.

Within the general framework utilized in this report, let us investigate in more detail the effects of United States policy upon the Palau social system. Even indirect rule requires certain native functionaries to mediate between the two social systems. In the initial phases of any new period these are the interpreters (at this date, tri-linguals) whose role and function have already been discussed in earlier sections. In addition to this, the United States administration found it necessary to employ natives in its Native Affairs office. Their function was primarily to assist in executing the foreigner's policy which relates to native affairs.

The most significant new feature was the establishment of a central Palau government. In reality, this was an entirely new organizational structure for Palau. Although the Japanese administration office considered Palau as a single administrative unit, this concept of centralized government did not have meaning for the natives. For purposes of the Palau social and political systems, the confederation was the largest functional unit. The structure of the Palau government established in the

American period was structured in such a way that the natives would retain control and have maximum autonomy. Composed of a congress (legislative function), judiciary body (court system), and executive branch (the high chiefs), it functioned in those areas which dealt with "all-Palau" problems. These problems concerned organizing and maintaining communication facilities, implementing and defining the codified law and legislating new law. Although from outward appearances this appears prosaic, in this colonial situation it was indeed a revolutionary change. The concept of a central government, controlled by the indigenous system on a self-rule basis, became a rallying point for some Palauans and a threat to others. The high chiefs originally viewed it as a threat to their position, but when its functioning was understood by them, they immediately embraced it. Since the chiefs occupied the top executive position in the government, their power was enhanced rather than vitiated. Initially, the former group of collaborators and many of the young males were enthusiastic about the new democratic structure, but after they understood that the chiefs still retained top control they became disappointed and disillusioned with its workings.

Hence the readjustment of forces in the American period resulted in serious power shifts as compared with the Japanese era. The foreign government shunned authority and, in fact, directed it into the hands of the chiefs. At the same time, the Palau officials working in the Native Affairs office and in the Palau government were reduced to the status of administrators who had no voice in the direction of affairs. The gratuitous power given to this group by the Japanese administration (i.e. to those who mediated between the two systems) was rescinded by the new colonial power.

The chiefs, as stated perviously, have been anxious to return to the old ways. Given their renewed power and prestige, they were quick to transform the exchange and contributory customs into their old form. Moreover, this traditional form represented the conditions which existed just prior to the reform of 1934. In a sense, this transformation was unrealistic because fewer American dollars were available to sustain the operation of the exchange and contributory customs. And those dollars which were available derived from an extremely small sector of the population - who had many resentments about losing their dollars through a return to the old usage. In addition to this, the metect generally have redefined exchange rates between the dollar and Palau money at rates more favorable to themselves and, where possible, have kept exchange rates ambiguous. Lastly, they hope to reintroduce the ancient deference patterns which formerly buttressed the now weakened class system. Hence, these activities may be seen as a movement toward re-establishing the economic and prestige base of the metect class.

Significant changes in role functions called for changed statuses (for the young men, constables, etc.). The chiefs, as mentioned, recaptured their former authority as a result of the

new foreigner's colonial policy. Although the status of chief is not yet too well defined, its tendency is toward the old form of absolute rule. Whether or not the checks on power provided for by the old system will redevelop is still an open question. If they do not develop, a new, embryonic force in Palau exists which may partially fulfil this function, that is the power of "public opinion" which, although not similar to the function of this power in a democracy, operates in a limited way to prevent extreme abuses of power. Another potentially effective check on the abuse of power arises from the nature of the foreigner's administrative structure. For general purposes, one might say that the foreign administrator's actions are governed by democratic concepts which shun the direct exercise of power and which find it difficult to go along completely with the rigid class distinctions supporting the chiefs. Thus, debate and discussion and the willingness to hear the opinions of many sides (irrespective of class distinctions) - policies utilized by the administration - constitute an unanticipated check on the power of chiefs.

One of the most significant changes in status was that of the young males between the ages of 17 and 35. This was the group most completely integrated into the Japanese job economy. The American colonial policy, which did not call for economic expansion, left serious gaps in the expected role functions of this group. Jobs in the foreigner's economic structure, except for a few, were not available. Whereas previously the young male might expect to be integrated into the foreigner's economic structure upon completion of school, this was no longer the case. The new situation demanded occupational integration within the indigenous economy, i.e., in agriculture, fishing, crafts. The crucial problem arises out of the fact that expectations are not easily altered. Thus when these expectations could not possibly be achieved within the new situation, resentment and unrealistic action resulted. In this case, the unrealistic action is indicated by the large number of young men who embrace elaborate plans for future enterprises in Palau, and hope for educational training in the United States for skills and professions. Some still believe that future United States economic policy will provide a basis for the fruition of their plans. Others are already disillusioned and for them the expression of resentment is typical. Their resentment is directed not only at the foreigner, but also at those who wield power within the native society - the metect generally and the chiefs specifically. What the future holds in store for those occupying this status remains a moot question. At the present time, many of them have embraced an extremely radical (from the point of view of the Palau system) ideology for social change and conceive of themselves as fighting against the present system. The faction which is composed largely of this group and termed "radicals" is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

Other changes in status flowing from the new colonial policy involve that of the teacher and the constable. In the new situation, the function of the teacher is limited to ac-

tivities in the classroom. There is a sharp distinction made between an individual's role as teacher and as citizen. In contrast to the Japanese period, the teacher no longer either enjoys high status or has effective power in local affairs. The functions of the constable have also been redefined. Constables are now much more closely integrated within the native social system. Although it is a foreign law which they must enforce, this law attempts to make the compensations necessary to maintain the integrity of the indigenous law-ways. For this reason, the function of the constable may overlap with that of both the chief and the mereder in those cases where the indigenous system provides rules and punishment for offenses. Also, in enforcing the foreign law, the constables' authority is no longer arbitrary. In short, the authority of this status has been reduced so as to be in more direct conformance with Western conceptions of law enforcement agencies.

Our last task is to consider modifications in cultural configurations resulting during this period. These, of course, are at best in their embryonic stages and can be only tentatively suggested. In this respect, the author chooses to consider the following factors: 1) the concept of progress; 2) the notions of rationality and efficiency; and 3) the concept of democracy. Concepts of progress are, of course, always relative to an ideological position. This is no less true for the political forces in Palau than in other places. In Palau, during this period, one can note a definite crystallization of forces, each with its own conception of progress. For the meteteet, chiefs and older people generally, who had not interiorized this concept in the Japanese period and who were directly opposed to its connotations for Palau, there was a tendency to accept the term with a redefined meaning. In the new context, progress meant for them a return to the old system to as great a degree as possible. Except for a willingness to accept Western implements and "luxury" goods, the old meaning of the term (as used by the collaborators) was lost. At the other extreme of the continuum there are the young people, mostly males and some females, between the ages of 20 and 35, for whom progress means complete emancipation from the shackles of "barbaric" Palau. Their conception of progress includes complete and rapid economic development, non-autocratic leadership and the change of Palau culture in the direction of Western cultural patterns. Thus, regardless of position, there is acceptance by everyone of the concept of progress for Palau, but conceptions as to the content of progress various between groups. Consideration for the future of Palau is a basic motivational force, even though the type of future conceived of may vary between different groups.

The notions of rationality and efficiency are notable in this historical period of Palau for their lack of integration with the new system. Historically, these concepts are concomitants of, and aids to the development of, an industrialization capitalistic economy. The new colonial policy in Palau precluded (at least temporarily) the further development of industrialization and thus removed the fundamental economic supports necessary to maintain these ideas. However, the efficacy of these concepts

in determining the thought processes and actions of certain segments of the native population (i.e. those most acculturated to Japanese ways) remained. The result of this was that this group was placed in an essentially anachronistic situation - the framework within which they could most suitably function no longer fitted the new situation. This factor is most significant insofar as it relates to two of the factions - the radicals and collaborators - discussed under the American Period in the following chapter. In a word, these elements became confused because they no longer had a basis for effective action.

The concept of democracy, introduced in this period, was presented as self-rule and freedom of thought and speech. Given the structure of Palau society, this also meant different things to different segments of the population. To the chiefs, self-rule meant a return to their former authority, in accord with the old system. To those who co-operated with the Japanese (and accepted their autocratic rule) and fared well under them, this meant a new era in representative government with a consequent complete deposition of the chiefs through the medium of the elected official. Free thought and speech were difficult concepts for the Palauan to comprehend. Native forms prescribed no such liberties. The spoken word was always circumscribed with a show of deference and agreement. Thought-ways and ideas were limited and defined by the culture. It is perhaps safe to say that only a handful of Palauans comprehend these concepts of democracy. This group consists of a few young men who have achieved a degree of emancipation from the bonds of their own culture. Thus, when their behavior is predicated on such concepts, it appears both bizarre and threatening to others in the society. The significant factor, as seen by the author, is that there has been a semblance of interiorization of these new concepts by a few people in the society. What their effect will be on the Palau social system and culture cannot be inferred at this time.

In this chapter we have attempted to indicate the broad outlines of those changes in the structure and functioning of the Palau social system and culture which were either directly or indirectly related to the colonial policy of the various foreign governments controlling the island. For the most part, the discussion remained within the confines of the framework stipulated in Chapter I. This involved tracing the manifold and often-times circuitous changes in the institutional structure of the indigenous system. Within the context created by this chapter, the following chapter offers a description of the various factions which have arisen in the historical period circumscribed by this report.

Chapter IV

Historical and Contemporary Factions in Palau

I The German Period - Rdiell's Movement

There is no evidence in either the German literature or from the older contemporary informants to suggest the presence of any factions or nativist movements prior to the German era in Palau. The first faction appeared concomitantly with the installation of the first foreign administration in Palau. This was in the German period at approximately 1905. At this time a man named Rdiell from Geklau in the district of Ngarard made what is felt to be a great deviation from the accepted canons of political behavior in the native society. His movement has been characterized by an informant "as a religion which had no previous existence in Palau".

Rdiell descended from a low ranking lineage in a low ranking kebliil of Geklau. The evidence suggests that in the Spanish period he was one of the earliest to accept the benefits of the foreign emissaries, being quick to accept iron tools, cloth, and trinkets. He also learned to write messages with paper and pencil. Apparently his contacts with both the resident Spanish priests and the occasional Japanese traders were extensive. Little more than this is known of the man.

In 1905 Rdiell built a non-traditional frame house on the top of a mountain near Geklau and near the house constructed a flagpole and tilled the soil. In this setting he assumed the role of a priest whose business was to predict future events. His claim to these priestly qualities was based on certain sanctions derived from household gods. Over a period of a few years a following was developed and similar houses were constructed on other mountains in the various districts of Palau. His following increased, but its exact magnitude and characteristics are impossible to determine.

According to contemporary informants, the appeal of the movement was based on Rdiell's forecast that in the future the people of Palau would till land, build frame houses and use paper and pencils in writing messages (rather than the traditional kusarang, or spoon). This program was aimed to guide Palau in a "progressive" direction through acceptance of foreign ways. However, the reasons why such a radical departure from native customs would have appeal for Palauans at this early period are nebulous. Three factors might be suggested as a tentative hypothesis. First, Rdiell came from a low-ranking lineage and in that sense was a marginal character. This fact of lineage precluded his ambition to rise to power through traditional channels; hence, his resort to shamanistic activities. Secondly, his following generally consisted of natives of low rank, like himself, including many village chiefs. These people, also excluded from the hereditary power and prestige system, were receptive to the idea of change, especially if it was in the direction of improving their status in the society, and perhaps the most significant factor would be the presence of

the German administration which had introduced uncertainty, instability and change in Palau, upsetting accepted folk-ways. Rdiell, because of his imputed ability to foresee the future in a period of uncertainty, was bestowed the mantle of prophet and demi-god by his followers who were anxious to be assured regarding their future, proper mode of behavior, etc.

Other characteristics of the movement were: 1) the collection of money from the followers at large gatherings and at personal consultations; 2) Rdiell's identification of himself with certain Palau gods for prophetic purposes and 3) consequently, the inference that Rdiell himself had the power of a god. These factors are pointed out at this time for the relevance which they bear to subsequent discussion.

The movement was short lived, extending perhaps from 1905 to 1912. Beginning in 1910 the German administration, employing native constabularies, made a concerted drive against all forms of native religion including Rdiell's movement. This new religion was officially investigated, defined as contraband and a criminal sanction placed against it in characteristic German bureaucratic fashion. From this time on little more is heard of Rdiell. Whether the movement persisted underground cannot be inferred, but at any rate, by 1914 when the Japanese arrived, its raison d'etre apparently ceased and no further reference is made to it.

II Modeknjie: A Program of Passive Resistance to the Japanese Administration.

The Japanese Period - 1914 to 1937.

As described previously the Japanese period was an era of radical change and innovation. It was also a period of a proliferation of ideological differences. These differences fall on a continuum of extreme reaction against all innovation to almost complete collaboration with the Japanese administration. Each of the extremities on the continuum is a focus for a concentration of ideological adherents. On the one hand there is a faction known as Modeknjie, a specific term for a well crystallized movement which extended throughout the entire Japanese period and into the American era. On the other hand there is a group whom we shall describe as "collaborators", who were less evident as a distinct faction only because their ideology corresponded so closely with the official policy of the Japanese administration. The development of these two groups will be treated independently throughout the Japanese and American periods.

Modeknjie began early in the Japanese period as a religio-political movement initiated by a man named Temedad who came from a fairly high ranking (metset) kebliil in A'ool village, but with little rank in the district. In the German period he had been employed as a constable in various parts of Yap and in the Southern Palau Islands. During this period he had contacted fileriosis, which had localized in his testicles, a fact that became of significance for his shamanistic activities. When the Japanese arrived in 1914, he was one of the first to enroll in the carpentry course in the Japanese school at Korrer. During this period he continued his friendship with three other former German constables who were enrolled in the school: Ongesii, Wesii, and Rngull. In the latter part of 1915, Temedad left the school to return to the village of A'ool.

Early in 1916¹ Temedad experienced his first seizure, probably epileptic, and upon recovery related that he had established contact with a god called Mgiromokuul, the belu god of A'ool. This follows the typical shamanistic pattern, except for two important differences: 1) Temedad came from a high ranking family in the village, a class which usually did not resort to shamanism and 2) the powers which were derived from the trance did not conform to the traditional pattern. In this case Temedad claimed the power, derivative from Mgiromokuul, to dictate which foods were taboo and which were not. Bananas, a previously taboo food in A'ool could henceforth be eaten with impunity, but the tradachnus and rayfish were proclaimed taboo. In addition to this the god Mgiromokuul was proclaimed never to have left Palau (contrary to Palau mythology) and to be resident in a stone ruin near A'ool.

In the general religious disorganization resulting from the German's destruction of temples and outlawing of the native religion and from the confusion created by the transition to the Japanese administration, the eating of bananas without the expected consequences occurring was regarded as close to a miracle. This feat more than any other established the occult power of Temedad.

In the next few years (1916-1918) a series of new functions were assumed by Temedad. First, he proclaimed after another seizure that all Palau money had become contaminated by the presence of the Japanese and required purification. The response to the threat of impure money was widespread; individuals from many parts of Palau came to have their talungalak, blai or kebliil money purified. This was Temedad's first manipulation of Palau money. The upshot of it was that he was able to keep certain pieces on the basis that they were unpurifiable and to charge a fee for those pieces returned. With this income he gained prestige since he rapidly became a wealthy man. Secondly, Temedad stepped into the middle of an old political dispute involving the villages of A'ool and Ulimang of the district of Ngerard. Before the abolition of war A'ool had suffered a defeat at the hand of Ulimang. Temedad resolved to avenge this defeat by ordering his followers to dismantle the Ulimang bai and to reconstruct it at a site in A'ool. This was accomplished without resistance and served to enhance the prestige of A'ool beyond anything it had previously known.

Thirdly, according to legend, in the latter part of 1917 Temedad received an urgent call from the family of a dying woman in Nger'along. After an elaborate ritualistic ceremony the woman was not only cured but presumably brought back to life after having been dead for a time. This adds another element - curing - to the characteristics of the movement.

Immediately following the last mentioned incident Temedad was joined by Ongesii, who became the second ranking functionary in the movement, and by Wesii, who became third ranking officer. Modekngie headquarters were then established in A'ool. Rnguul, at this time, joined the movement and

(1) Dates and sequences of events in the following discussion are derived primarily from the personal diaries of two informants kept over the last 25 or 30 years.

became its representative in Ngaremlengui.

After the outstanding successes mentioned above, A'ool became the veritable center of authority in Palau. An increasing number of medical patients were diverted from the Japanese hospital in Korror for treatment at A'ool. The Japanese school in Ngaremd was destroyed on the order of Temedad. The wives of men who were employed by the Japanese were told to divorce their husbands. And on one occasion in 1918 all the village and district chiefs of Palau were summoned to A'ool by Temedad. The existence of a new and powerful religion, whose power was derived from the ancestral god of Ngirumokuul, was proclaimed. This religion was called Modeknge which meant "to bring them together" - referring to both the ancestral gods and the people of Palau. This was a direct appeal for the unity of the Palau people through the concept of a single deity.

The reaction to Modeknge came first of all from the Palauans themselves who were employed by the Japanese as constables, interpreters, messengers, or who had made a culture tour to Japan. Two men, Omang of Korror and Tellie of Melekeok (high ranking Udes in the patrilineal line) who were in high standing with the Japanese, revealed the nature of Modeknge to the Japanese naval administrator and led a group of constables for the arrest of Temedad, Wasii and Ongesii in the early part of 1919. The trio was tried and convicted on the grounds of extortion of money and jailed in Anguar from February of 1919 to the middle of 1922.

In this period (1919-1922) Rnguul ascended to the highest ranking position in Modeknge and carried on its tradition in somewhat altered fashion. He may be characterized as possessing a minimum of charisma and a maximum of bureaucratic efficiency. His motivation was more pecuniary than messianic, the curative aspect of the movement was deemphasized, predictive powers were not utilized and the assistance of high ranking meteet was enlisted. Rnguul systematically made trips throughout Palau holding o'eroals and omelu'els for the gods. The proceeds, food and money, derived from individuals having no direct lineage connections with Rnguul whatsoever, were presumed to be necessary to pacify the gods. This type of money extortion - a form of prostitution of basic Palau customs - might easily have aroused the anger of the meteet, except that Rnguul offered his valuable services including power, prestige and money to them. In his tours about Palau he assisted those meteet or chiefs who were holding o'eroals, omelu'els, 'elebe'els, etc. in getting large sums of money. The movement became routinized and focalized around Palau money. On the grounds of pecuniary extortion Rnguul was exiled in May, 1921 to the island of Pul Ana, south of Palau, by the Japanese police.

In February of 1922 Temedad, a sick man, and Ongesii were released from prison. Within six months the movement had recaptured its original flavor, with the added feature that Ongesii was seducing all female patients as a cure or preventative for venereal diseases. It was again Omang and Tellie who took the initiative in prosecuting Temedad and Ongesii. They were rejailed in Korror where early in 1924 Temedad died. Ongesii was released shortly thereafter and Rnguul was returned from Pul Ana in the latter part of the same year.

From 1925 to 1937 the movement was dominated exclusively by Ongesii, a low ranking man from the village of A'ool who had been on the German

police force and had left the Japanese carpentry school. He joined Temedad at the height of his power and inherited the leadership at the time of Temedad's death. Under the leadership of Ongesii the character of the movement was changed in the following important ways: 1) an organization was developed with functionaries in each district and village; 2) medical technicians were trained; 3) a headquarters with hospital, dormitories and offices was built, and 4) the movement assumed an aspect of rationality. This revamped movement by 1937 was in complete control of all political power in Palau. Even the leading chiefs of the two top districts of Korrer and Melekeok - Ibidul and Reklai - were at this time taking orders from Ongesii. It is of consequence to note the events which led to this particular development.

When Ongesii returned from jail he was the undisputed leader of a somewhat discredited Modeknge. The Japanese civil administration was by then in control of native affairs, but in the general disorganization of the transitional period effective control was at a minimum. Ongesii proceeded to move about Palau reestablishing contacts and in a quiet way appointing functionaries in the various districts and villages. Initially his program was derived directly from the South Seas Bureau regulations; drinking, stealing and infidelity were prohibited for all faithful members. Above all the foreigners' regulations must be obeyed; with the effect that attention was directed away from Modeknge itself. In 1926 an opportunity presented itself and Ongesii quickly identified himself with an apparent miracle. A Peliliou woman's son had died. Since the boy had been fond of a harmonica, it was placed as an offering in the eldeng after his death. One night it was heard to play of its own volition and this fact was interpreted as certain evidence of the return of the boy's spirit. Ongesii appeared on the scene and established the old woman as a medium in Modeknge with occult powers for curing. It was after this incident that the movement once again gained momentum.

By 1928 Ongesii had established a headquarters on the island of Orak, adjacent to Kayangle and a safe distance from Japanese headquarters in Korrer. A hospital was built, nurses were housed in dormitories and a complement of male workers was on hand for gardening and fishing. Cures were effected through the use of seven traditional herbs. Those informants who wish to discredit Modeknge claim that Ongesii seduced each female patient, but the evidence is not entirely convincing. Within each of the districts and villages a Modeknge representative was appointed, preferably a chief or clan head. The appeal to the representative was Modeknge's assistance in making successful o'eroals, omelu'els, etc. and being provided with Ongesii's predictions on future events, especially regarding Japanese policy.

By 1937 this development had reached a climax. Every district and village chief in Palau was a member of Modeknge, and every chief or chief's messenger made frequent visits to Ongesii on Orak. Orak became a haven for young men who wished to avoid the Japanese labor conscription, and Ongesii became the wealthiest and most powerful man in Palau.

The Ideological Content of Modeknge

Although the Modeknge movement changed over the years of the

Japanese administration, adjusting opportunistically to momentary pressures and invoking new appeals as the occasion warranted, we may summarize briefly the general recurrent themes which characterized it for the twenty year period from 1917 to 1937.

In broadest terms the ideological structure of Modeknge may be subsumed under two categories: 1) those aspects relating to a return to the real or romanticized conception of the ancienne regime and 2) those elements directly antithetical to stated Japanese policy. To establish such categories is, of course, to destroy the unity and wholeness of the emotional and rational appeal of this ideology, just as any process of dissection must necessarily do. Admittedly the effectiveness of Modeknge was based on the participants total perception of the movement, conveyed by songs, ceremonies, charismatic qualities of leaders and themes and ideas espoused. The totality of its appeal is best validated by the extent of its influence on the lives of Palauans.

Those aspects of the ideological content of Modeknge relating to the return to real or romanticized conceptions of the ancienne regime were in each case conditioned by the extent and nature of social change induced by the Japanese administration. The exact nature of the old order or reference to a specific point in time in the past was never explicitly stated; at one moment reference was ^{made} to the orderly and non-exploiting Germans and at another time reference was made to the Palau of "our grandfathers' days". This, of course, only points up the non-rational and emotional elements in Modeknge appeals which capitalized on those propensities in the human individual which idealize and romanticize the past. Furthermore, in times of rapid social change and widespread dislocations in ordered human relations targets for resentment are readily available. The most obvious and tangible target for Modeknge was the physical presence of the Japanese in a dominant position. Thus the two aspects of Modeknge are at once part of a larger theme - the anti Japanese sentiments being evoked by rapid changes in both the social structure and patterned status and role relationships which, in turn, tended to make the old order an appealing focus for a lost security.

Modeknge's portrayal of life in "old Palau" selected for emphasis those aspects of the culture which had been most changed. In response to industrial or commercial wage labor governed by the clock and Western conception of the rational work process, Modeknge substituted the image of a peaceful, lackadaisical subsistence economy geared to maximizing pleasure and minimizing work. According to their ideology, one should spend his evenings singing and dancing rather than working overtime in the bauxite mines; dependence on the market economy and the fluctuating value of the yen could be avoided by going back to the land, picking the god-given fruit without effort, and having always the dependable security of one's relatives. Formalized authority, such as the official and policeman, was placed in juxtaposition with the ancient days when everyone knew what was "right" (the implicitly accepted canons of legitimacy) and the concept of clan responsibility protected the individual from his own deficiencies and errors. Formal education (five or seven years of compulsory education) designed primarily for training in a foreign language and in foreign skills, was viewed as unnecessary and an onerous addition to a foreign way of life which had destroyed the time-honored practice of clan and family education. Modeknge did not stress "a life of ease" at the expense of a stable,

harmonious and well-ordered existence. According to the movement's philosophy these latter qualities were also destroyed by the Japanese administration and were reattainable only through the Modeknge way. The ideology followed this type of logic:

"A life of ease is not in itself sufficient. Life must also be stable, well ordered and harmonious. These qualities have been disrupted. All aspects of the old way - the gods and the people united in oneness with the soil and sea - must be brought together again. To disembowel the earth for aluminum ore and brauxite has scattered the gods and the people. Large scale fishing and lumbering operations without regard for traditional and sacred land usage and fishing rights patterns have torn asunder the balanced relationship between the people and the natural world. The unity of life has been destroyed by the compartmentalization of functions - education, government, law, business, money, religion. Of what necessity are written codes? Why is it necessary to buy rice? Why does Palau need ice cream cones? In short, foreign ways do not fit. People do not require rules, orders and codes in order to live at peace with themselves. The ways of life are implicitly accepted, beyond scrutiny, and "given" in their totality by a heritage which has already solved all problems of life. The destroyed stability and harmony must be re-achieved."

Modeknge also stressed the idea that the people of Palau must regain their earthly supremacy. Like all people the Palauans conceived of themselves as "The People" - that naive ethnocentrism which places one's own group at the top of the pyramid of all groups. This picture of the world could be retained only so long as contact with foreigners was restricted to the occasional trader, the handful of Spanish priests and perhaps a few specialized German bureaucrats and businessmen. This ethnocentrism was challenged when large numbers of Japanese colonials settled in Palau.² And according to the Modeknge "line", Palau must attempt to regain the conception that it was the hub of the universe - a belief destroyed by its intimate dependence on international trade, by the presence of 20,000 Japanese who by many standards (production capacity, luxuries, technology, etc.) were superior, and by the availability of world news via the printed page and the Japanese radio.

Foreign dress was introduced abruptly in Palau between 1915 and 1920. Through the use of considerable skill and some force the people were successfully urged to wear Japanese attire. Early in Modeknge this was seized upon as a symbol of foreign corruption and counteracted by establishing the red loincloth (useker) as one of the significant symbols in the Modeknge movement. Ancient tradition reserved the red loincloth for the exclusive use of high ranking chiefs and shamans. Modeknge adopted red as its color and the specific use of the red loincloth symbolized the opposition to foreign - i.e. Japanese - ways. Since red was also the favored color of the gods, it served to enlist the support of the gods in Modeknge.

(2) It is significant in this respect that Temaded's enormously enlarged testicles were represented as a symbol of the world.

Translating into concrete action terms those ideological elements in Modeknge which idealized the old order, the anti-Japanese focus of the movement emerges. For example, to attain the ultimate goal - the old order - a necessary condition was the removal of the Japanese from Palau. Since any declaration of civil war was objectively impossible due to inferior numbers and technology, Modeknge employed a type of rear-guard non-violent opposition to Japanese policy and authority. This was expressed in many ways: as opposition to the educational system; opposition to Japanese hospitals and establishment of parallel medical institutions of their own; opposition to conscription of labor and providing safety on Orak for those young men who wished to avoid the draft; opposition to the Japanese subsidized foreign religions; opposition to the Japanese supported reforms of Palau money, land distribution and reciprocity customs (omelu'el, 'elebe'il, Bu'ul dul, etc.); and opposition to the impure Japanese yen.

The Composition of Modeknge

Modeknge did not have a universal appeal in Palau. Its following was selective along certain specific lines. In most general terms this selectivity was a function of district residence and degree of involvement in high status positions in the native status structure. The non-Modeknge elements were also determined by the individual's role in the status system and were generally characterized by affiliation with Christian religions, employment in the Japanese economic structure, close affinities with the Japanese administrative organs, exposure to Japanese culture as a result of a tour to Japan, etc.

Throughout its history the composition of Modeknge follows clear cut lines according to district residence. The largest share of its following was consistently derived from the districts of Kayangle, Eger'elong, Egerard, Egerdau, Egeremienqui, Egetbang, Aimeliik, and Peliliou. In its later phases, Anguar may also be classed with these districts. It is significant to note that there is an inverse relationship between the source of the Modeknge following according to district and the extent of contact with foreigners. The districts noted above in each case were populated with only a minimum number of Japanese, were located the farthest distances from schools and police stations, received least of the fruits of the foreign culture and have been least influenced by Christian missionary efforts.

In regard to status determinants (holding district residence constant) the membership of Modeknge was derived primarily from the ranks of women (specifically women between the ages of 20 and 50) and from district and village chiefs irrespective of age. The composition of the male following conformed to the district distribution and included the age range from about 20 to very old men, but in this case the deviations from the rule were manifold. As will be shown in the concluding section, the appeal of Modeknge to these groups was closely associated with the loss of their role functions as a result of the Japanese induced socio-cultural change.

The factors determining the composition of the non-Modeknge groups - the group which we shall designate as "collaborators" - shall be discussed

later. However, it can be said that the natives reacted differentially to the Japanese occupation, according to their former role in the social structure and according to whether their status was improved or weakened. Without doubt there were some fuzzy edges between the two groups, but the tendency throughout this Japanese period was for a greater and greater divergence and crystallization of the two factions.

The Japanese Period - 1937 to 1945.

In the long period from 1924 to 1937, Modeknge, under the leadership of Ongesii, had gradually built up to a crescendo in both power and control to the extent that it had become a pressing threat to the Japanese administration which by 1937 was suffering under the burden of the empire's Chinese war. The aims of the administration, which by then were almost exclusively to make Palau an economic asset to the empire, required tighter control of labor, production and consumption. Modeknge was dedicated to a program diametrically opposed to such a policy. A conflict between these two forces was inevitable and, in fact, did occur in 1938 under the instigation and leadership of the collaborating faction. Ongesii was thoroughly "investigated", and charges were made against him and some 28 co-defendants in a trial which exposed every feature of Modeknge - the leadership, strategy, sentiments, financing, etc. Ongesii alone was convicted, sentenced to seven years in prison and forthwith dispatched to the island of Saipan to serve his term.

It is notable in the history of social movements throughout the world that fiat alone and exposing of external trappings is not in itself sufficient to destroy the movement's affective base. Modeknge fulfilled certain functional needs for the people; perhaps in most general terms it offered a world of security and stability in an otherwise rapidly changing and apparently disorganized social and cultural setting. It provided easy answers to cultural dilemmas and a faith upon which a Palauan, uncertain of his own ideas, could set his course.

Whatever these needs may have been in detail, Modeknge continued to fulfill them. Rnguul, who in the years 1925 to 1938 had held a subsidiary position, assumed control and led the faction on a sub rosa basis. The dramatic character of the trial served to establish the Japanese Administration as the undisputed authority on the Islands. The chiefs, primarily from fear, responded to Japanese regulations and orders as they were relayed by the collaborationist group. The power base or political control of Modeknge was, in effect, reduced to a minimum.

It is in this period that the Japanese war effort was intensified and became the dominant and central theme in Palau life. Modeknge, under Rnguul, adapted to the new situation, and served the function of predicting events in the war. For example, Rnguul is accredited with predicting the United States' entry into the war, the first bombing of Palau in March of 1944 and the cessation of hostilities in August of 1945. This entire period was one of crisis in Palau, especially the period following the first bombing and the occupation of Babelthau and Korrer by United States military personnel in 1945. The Japanese administration at this time lost its organizational efficiency, lines of communication were disrupted and the

centralized administrative authority lost control of the situation. Local control in the various districts became the rule rather than the exception and the Japanese troops and civilians began to live off the land. Modeknge, as directed by Rnguul, in this short period of time once again resumed a central position and directed Palau through this crisis. Its loyal following included perhaps all but a handful of Palauans. In short, the necessary conditions for the effectiveness of such an ideology were maximal. The insecurity of complete uncertainty regarding the future was allayed by the positive pronouncements of Modeknge: the threat to life made by the bombings (the impersonalized nature of modern war) was combatted with a magical charm (sers) designed both to provide supernatural protection for the individual and to frighten the bombers away. It is ironical that Japanese newspaper and radio propaganda contributed to Modeknge success by portraying the enemy forces as almost equivalent to demons from Mars. This propaganda which increased the Palau people's fear of the American forces boomeranged against the Japanese when its effect - fear of Americans - made people more willing to seek security in Modeknge.

Modeknge during the crisis of the actual war period was less a phenomenon of political factionalism than it was a mass psychological response to a confused and unknowable world. All heretofore known conceptions of reality proved to be inadequate for coping with the new situation. Modeknge served the function of structuring for each individual a course of action in a familiar and satisfying context. Modeknge truly represented a stability which was nowhere else to be found. For these reasons it is felt to be unnecessary to analyze in more detail the structural and functional aspects of Modeknge during the war. Almost by definition of the situation (since Modeknge's strength was derived by the default of the opposition), this type of social movement was destined to crumble. This happened as soon as its existential base - the war - had terminated and when new events occurred which re-structured the situation.

The United States Naval Period - 1945 to 1948.

The United States, through its Navy, formally assumed control of the entire Palau Island group in September of 1945. The Administrative offices moved into Korror and authority was once more invested in foreign hands. It is notable that Modeknge, still under the leadership of Rnguul, had already become a negligible force in Palau affairs.

The stated American policy of democratic "indirect rule" within the framework of the "traditional" Palau customs, was interpreted by the Palauans as "self-rule", and forms the basis for the first rift between the various chiefs and Modeknge. Modeknge was no longer necessary as a channel through which chiefs could retain some semblance of power since the force of foreign authority once again legitimized their status authority and recognized their functional role. The chiefs along with the unanticipated United States colonial policy together destroyed the functional base of Modeknge.

In reference to ideology, except for the anti-foreign bias, the chiefs and Modeknge leaders differed little. But with regard to execution of policy, Modeknge and the chiefs were in opposition. The result was

that Modeknge was pushed aside, and discredited as superstitious and "hocus-pocus" by its once staunchest supporters.

Lacking function and a unique program with forward momentum, the internal structure of Modeknge began almost immediately to crumble. Various district leaders, once under Rnguul's authority, tended to become autonomous medical practitioners operating in strict secrecy. In a district such as Kayangle, least affected by foreign influence, aspects of Modeknge have become integrated into those remaining elements of the indigenous religious structure. In only one quarter did the movement indicate that it was adapting to the new situation so as to be able to make a bid for power. Wasisang in Egarard, the son of Temedad, seemed to be making an attempt to incorporate Christian symbols such as the cross and the image of Mary into a national Modeknge-Christian religion. Indicative of this trend is the fact that on one occasion Wasesang propositioned the Protestant missionary to the idea of joining forces in their religious efforts, "since they were both serving God".

III. The Collaborators: A Program for Social Change.

Collaborator is perhaps an unfortunate term, since it tends to emphasize one aspect of this group at the expense of another equally significant side. More specifically, by collaborators is meant that group in Palau whose ideology tends to conform to the stated aims and social program of the foreign administration while at the same time attempting to mediate and alter the foreigners' aims in such a way as to make them conform to their own unique conception of what is "good" for the progress of Palau. Or, to state it in another way, this type of group - power mediaries - has a positive program for a "better" Palau of the future predicated on certain social changes directed away from the old order. Where this program joins the foreign administration's policy there is no problem, but where the program opposes the foreign administration policy opposition is subtly expressed by attempting to redirect the foreigners' policy into more desirable channels.

The leaders of these groups are consistently employed by the foreign administration in high status positions and derive their authority within the native structure by virtue of being affiliated with the foreigners. Since the foreign administration must of necessity employ Palauan functionaries as constables, clerks, administrators, etc., there tends to be institutionalized, an independent power structure associated with these statuses. This group then has a medium through which it can express its ideology. Likewise, internal power struggles tend to be focused around the distribution of jobs, promotions and control of strategic positions. A necessary condition for the existence of such a group is the inability of the foreigner to achieve his own ends without the assistance of the native inhabitants. At the same time, no native ever becomes completely foreign in ideology; his roots are in the native soil and his loyalties, conditioned by the long process of socialization into his own culture, tend to be divided.

The Spanish and German Periods.

The earliest relationships which Palauans had with foreigners whose stated aims called for changes in the social structure were with the Spanish priests in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Since conversion to Catholicism was the primary aim, interference on the part of the priests in Palau politics was a means to an end, but a means whose importance was always recognized (evidenced by the fact that their earliest efforts were concentrated in the districts of Korrör and Melekeok and then successively in the next highest district in each of the confederations). There was, however, no effort to establish an independent power structure; their efforts were carried on within the existing structure of political power relationships. Due to the unique relationship of Catholic missionaries to the Spanish Government, it was felt sufficient by that country to dispatch an occasional man-of-war to Palau to receive from the missionaries a report on the state of affairs in the colony. Thus, in all likelihood, the situation was one in which the missionaries considered native politics as one variable to be considered in their program of gaining converts and the chiefs considered this Catholic Christianity as simply another variable to be considered in their own game of power politics.

In the German era the program for Christianizing the Palauans was continued, but a new element - exploitation of the productive potential - was added. Palau was to produce goods for exportation to Germany. Concomitant with this latter aim^{was} the necessity of establishing a colonial administrative office on the island. In the early years James Gibbons (the son of William Gibbons, a half English - half Jamaican sailor who jumped his ship and settled in Palau in the 1870's) was appointed Governor of Palau, responsible to the German colonial headquarters on Yap. Gibbons executed German policy, which primarily included production standards and maintenance of law and order with the aid of the German organized native constabulary. By 1905 German traders and administrative officials were themselves in Palau and with this organizational change the constabulary became the single most important medium through which a Palauan could achieve status outside the indigenous social structure. One other extremely significant event occurred during this period. For the first time in Palau history a foreign administration, through the force of its authority, expelled from office a legitimate, but recalcitrant, Reklai and replaced him with an individual (Ruluked) from a second ranking clan in Melekeok. Significantly, Ruluked, prior to this time, had served as chief of the constabulary.

Given these rather simple and monistic goals on the part of the Spanish and the Germans, only the bare outlines of the collaborationist pattern are suggested. It is not until the Japanese period that a clear crystallization of forces occurred and the pattern of this faction became structured.

The Japanese Period - 1914 to 1945.

In the first year of the Japanese period, Omang, a son of a former Ibidul who reverted to his mother's second ranking Keblil in Korrör, entrenched himself in a position of deep trust and confidence with the

Japanese naval authorities. He was the first Palauan to become chief constable for the Japanese constabulary. As an occupant of this status, he became, in effect, the first guardian and staunchest proponent of Japanese administrative policy. Aside from his duties as a law enforcing agent, he also served as minister plenipotentiary for the Palau people in the Japanese administrative circles. Among his duties were included the following: advice to the administration on such matters as the placement and distribution of police stations and schools, recommendations on Palau personnel needed to fill the new occupational categories (messengers, clerks, domestics, training schools) and advice to the foreign government as to the "true" functioning of Palau society and culture. This latter duty was extremely crucial in light of the fact that many normative patterns had become poorly defined due to social changes which had occurred in the earlier periods. In a word, Omang was in a position to define the Palau situation for the Japanese. This he could do to his personal and clan's advantage. For example, given the Japanese administrator's ignorance or incomplete knowledge concerning the legitimacy of claims being made by a district chief, Omang was called upon to provide background information regarding the chief's lineage, land holdings, etc. This, of course, created a situation in which the type of information offered by Omang became crucial to the disposition of the case.

Previous to the Japanese occupancy of Palau, Omang had become committed to a program of social change directed away from the old order. He was first of all the son of Alou's³, an extremely acculturated Ibidul. Secondly, the possibility of his assuming power in the indigenous structure was precluded because of his lineage. And thirdly, he deeply committed himself to the Germans and had previously based his status on a collaborationist position.

Occupying this strategic position, and of course surrounded by a body of loyal followers, Omang proceeded to restructure the political forces on Palau. During his tenure in this strategic position, he achieved four major successes, aside from his general control over Japanese-Palau relations. These were as follows:

- 1) The seating of Tellie Sr.⁴ as Reklai in 1914, superseding the legitimate lineage represented by Rull of the Udes clan. Ruluked, a member of the Iuges clan, had occupied this position during the German period and up to 1914. When the Japanese came, the Udes clan, sensing this as an opportunity, agitated to have Rull replaced on the basis of Udes priority. Omang assisted in manipulating Tellie Sr., also a Udes but from the patrilineal line, into this position. Tellie Sr.'s claims to

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- (3) He is now a legendary Ibidul, accredited with having been more ruthless than the Germans in destroying Palau temples and in suppressing the indigenous religion; for having ordered all men to cut their hair and ordering men and women to wear Japanese style clothing; for having sent another son to Manila as early as 1910 for an education and for having himself been in Hongkong for three years in his youth.
 - (4) Two Tellies play a significant role in Palau affairs - Tellie Sr. and his son Jose Tellie. These designations will be used to keep them distinct.

this position were extremely tenuous since there were many potential successors in the Udes matrilineal lineage.

- 2) Omang, apparently aware of Modekngie for some time and fearful of it, selected the cruse celebre which initiated the investigation and enlisted the aid of the Japanese authority in investigating and jailing Temedad, Ongesii and Wasii.
- 3) The Ibidul, Alou', had died in 1917 and was succeeded by Tem, a legitimate claimant to the position, but a personal enemy to Omang and a member of Modekngie. In 1918 when Modekngie was exposed, Omang succeeded in identifying Tem with Modeknzie and used this as evidence to have him replaced by Omenghar, a non-legitimate claimant whose aims conformed more closely with Omang's.
- 4) In approximately 1922, when Japanese demands for native labor were particularly heavy, the group provided the knowledge and initiative in restructuring the 'aldebe'el from vertically organized groups including all ages to horizontally organized age grades partially renamed by Japanese terms - Sienen, Chunen, etc.

These events are intended, of course, merely to highlight the nature of Omang's activities and the extent of his influence. The ideological character of this group, whose leadership was composed of Omang, Alou', Tellie Sr. and Omenghar, may best be typified as being directed at a new and different order for Palau, as contrasted with Modekngie whose aims were clearly to reverse the process of change. In broadest terms, the ideology consisted of adjusting the social structure and cultural patterns to fit the new situation created by the goals of the Japanese Administration. The Japanese aims generally included making Palau an economic asset (through industrialization and exploitation of natural resources), providing a frontier for colonials (businessmen, farmers, administrative officials) and changing Palau life ways wherever necessary to achieve the two preceding aims. Translating this collaborationist ideology into action terms, programs such as the following emerge:

- 1) Encouraging and forcing when necessary the cutting of hair and wearing of foreign style dress. The loincloth (usakar) became the symbol of barbarianism.
- 2) Encouraging the inhabitants to make the Japanese sponsored "culture tours" to Japan.
- 3) Wholehearted support of the Japanese educational program and, in fact, agitation for more extensive education in the form of more trade schools, scholarships to support bright students in Japan.
- 4) Discouraging the use of Palau "customs" and Palau money by making an invidious comparison between "our" backward ways and "their (the Japanese) civilization".
- 5) A conscious disregard for class distinctions based on clan

lineage and a substitute emphasis upon status by achievement.

- 6) Extreme concern with events and affairs in the outside world; comparing Palau's progress in relation to other islands such as Yap, Truk.
- 7) Concern with the condition of the world market (specifically the oriental markets), exploitation of natural resources, improvement of Palau's agricultural capacity and business enterprises.

It can be said in general terms that, with the concurrence of the Japanese naval administration, this program was successfully initiated and partially implemented as early as 1922 or 1923. A large body of the native inhabitants had become committed to this program and a small select group had become closely identified with the Japanese Administrative offices. This latter group was composed predominantly of individuals either on the patrilineal side of top-ranking clans or top ranking individuals from second, third or fourth clans. A relationship seems to exist between exclusion from top-ranking positions within the native political hierarchy and attraction to this new means of achieving power.

Significant changes occurred in the leadership composition and ideology of the collaborationist faction beginning in 1922 when the Japanese naval administration was replaced by the South Seas Bureau, a civilian authority. This was partially, though not wholly, due to the difference in mentality or psychology which one might expect between military and civilian colonial authorities. It was also partly due to a shift in the state of world politics. Japan after 1922 had the assurance of continued, unopposed occupancy of the South Seas mandate from the League of Nations. They were in Palau to stay and a notable shift in policy occurred; principally, the process of forced acculturation was intensified and the techniques for implementing policy became relatively more subtle. By this time, after eight years of occupancy and an extensive educational program, new criteria for suitable leadership had been established. Educational performance and facility in reading, writing and speaking Japanese became necessary conditions for being successful as a collaborator with the Japanese.

Omang could no longer compete under these conditions and was categorically replaced as chief constable by Jose Tellie, a young man in his twenties. In addition to this, a major shift occurred in the entire police force, designed to weed out the "older" non-Japanese speaking personnel and to replace them with a new crop of young men trained in the Japanese schools.⁵ From this time on until 1944 Jose Tellie played the identical

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- (5) Wherever possible the direct naming of people will be avoided. Jose Tellie, who is still living, is mentioned only because his activities are generally known throughout Palau. As for the group which collected around him, a definite and crystallized loyal following, these will not be mentioned by name, but rather referred to as the "group". Since some of the information to follow was given in confidence and the author has

role previously occupied by Omang. With a continuous, but always slightly shifting, coterie of followers, Tellie reformulated the ideology of this faction to fit the demands of the new situation. The new formulation included all of the elements already listed on pages 96 and 97 but added significant new elements. Among these were included the following:

- 1) The reformulation of certain Palau customs (o'eroal, omelu'el, 'elebe'iil, etc.) by administrative order supported by legal sanction. This was a problem which basically involved putting controls on the circulation of yen within the native economic structure.
- 2) The attempt to stabilize the value of Palau money by establishing fixed value - rations between Palau money and the yen. Thus 100 yen was equated with one Kluk regardless of the differential historical or "prestige" value of the various Kluk. This idea was designed to rationalize the internal economy and to avoid excessive abuses in Kluk-yen transactions.
- 3) Full fledged support to the concept of private property. Previously, only women "owned" taro patches, in the sense that an individual had the right of disposal according to rather fluid rules. All other land was clan land and a clan merredder controlled and distributed land, but had limited freedom in doing this. Introducing the concept of private property meant, in a word, establishing individual title to land, and freedom to buy and sell land on the market. This, of course, meant new sources of income (rent or sale) for an otherwise deprived group and directly benefited the rising entrepreneurial class.
- 4) Perhaps most significant and least observable was the re-evaluation made by this group of what constitutes a legitimate basis for high status in Palau society. According to the new concept, status must be achieved not by lineage, but by achievement in the capitalistic economic structure. Thus there emerged the small time real estate agent in Korror, and the copra broker who "fleeced" the naive Kayangle farmer. The educated Palauan (one who could read the administrative orders for the chief and the teacher), the bureaucrat (one who knew his way around the files), the accountant (who could make the books balance), the technicians (mechanic, pharmacist, nurse, etc.) - these form the basis for the new, though tenuous, elite in Palau. Skill alone, however, was not sufficient; money income or savings in the Japanese bank constituted the other factor determining high status standing.

With what success, then, did Jose Tellie, with his handful of perhaps fifteen or twenty cohorts, lead Palau in this direction? A brief summary will perhaps be sufficient to outline the main events in which this

no way of determining what is generally known throughout Palau, it is deemed advisable to follow this more discrete policy. In those cases where members of this group are now dead, however, names will be freely used.

group was involved. Following this, an analysis will be made of those groups in Palau who supported this program.

Given a secure standing as chief constable, which carried with it the prerogative of recommending personnel for appointment to various governmental positions, Tellie built up a political machine. The basic nucleus of this machine included first and foremost the constables and school teachers in the various districts. These individuals, in addition to their primary function, performed the secondary function of keeping the leadership informed as to major events in the districts, for example, regarding activities of the chiefs or Modeknge. In addition to this, the group was well represented in the Japanese administrative sections, such as the court, post office, accounting office, agricultural school, etc., by virtue of its members holding jobs in these sections. This, of course, provided channels for information concerning the foreigner's new policy moves and shifts in Japanese personnel. Since the native inhabitants in a colonial situation must continually make plans and decisions which are contingent upon the policy of the foreign administration, these communication channels with the Japanese offices increased the element of predictability regarding future Japanese policy changes. The collaborators could therefore formulate or reformulate their program within a framework in which chance was minimized. Given these two communication channels - the one emanating from the native social system and the other from the Japanese bureaucratic structure - Jose Tellie was perhaps the best informed individual in Palau. This objective information combined with Tellie's capacity to make correct inferences and to weigh the importance of variables, gave this group important advantages over other groups, such as the Japanese administration or Modeknge, who were also trying to manipulate the situation.

From the very earliest Tellie began to work closely with Ayaoka, an Airai meteteet whose lineage precluded his becoming a chief. Throughout the period 1926-1943, until Ayaoka died, Tellie functioned as the integrator, the idea man and generally the charismatic leader, while Ayaoka performed the role of administrator and manipulator. Legend has it that Ayaoka was Tellie's "right arm".

As early as 1926, this group participated in the first Japanese land "reform". So far as the Japanese were concerned, this reform was designed to demarcate (expropriate) certain lands for government purposes. In blunt terms land was needed for public and military works and for Japanese farmers. The Palauans themselves, due to population size, could not fully exploit all the land for agricultural purposes. But nevertheless, all land in Palau was allocated, according to traditional rules, to the various kebliil or blei. Since it was quite confusing to rent land from such a nebulous entity as a clan, the government simply expropriated large sections of unused land in the interior of Babelthaup and other desirable sections on the other islands. The significant point is that on Korror where the pressure on the land was most acute individual Palauan land titles were created. The collaborators, working with the Japanese administration, succeeded in defining the situation in such a way that each individual holding land as of a specified time became owner of that land. Ownership implied both the right to sell and the right to bequeath it to a person of one's choosing. The disputes created both within clans and between clans were, of course, manifold but cannot be treated here. The interesting point

is that with the continued influx of Japanese colonizers into Korror and the subsequent development of this island into a metropolitan center of some ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants, a number of small fortunes were amassed, primarily by members of the Collaborationist group. By 1937, when Japanese, Okinawan and Formosan farmers had already begun to settle throughout the countryside, the policy of individual land ownership was extended throughout Palau.

Attempts had been made as early as 1920 by Tellie Sr. to assign absolute values to Palau money. Jose Tellie continued with these efforts throughout the latter part of the 1920's, but met with little success. Part of the difficulty lay in the fact that Palau money plays such a central and catalytic function in the operation of the Palau social system. The money system is functionally interrelated with many of the most significant structural aspects of Palau society. Specifically, 1) it acts as a support to the stratification pattern; 2) it symbolizes the relationship bonds between families related by marriage; 3) it may be used as purchasing power for native produce and manufactured crafts (tortoise shell dishes) and equipment (canoes, fish nets, fish traps, etc.) and 4) the larger pieces carry with them the history of Palau and the honor of certain clans. One of the most difficult things for the foreigner to observe and comprehend is the function and role of Palau money in the native society. Only occasionally may one see this money displayed or observe transactions. It is perhaps for this reason that the Japanese administration failed to support the various attempted money reforms in the 1920's.

By 1934, however, with Palau well on the way toward becoming a capitalistically based economy (agricultural surplus for sale on the market, private property, specialized labor, income from wages, etc.), the collaborators selected Palau money and the exchange customs (o'eroal, onelu'el, 'ele'be'ilil, etc.) as the two most serious deterrents to the continued progress of Palau. In 1934 this faction in a series of meetings worked out detailed plans for the revision of Palau exchange customs and the reform of monetary practices involving Palau money. It will be remembered that these customs, o'eroal, for example, had been considerably altered in their functioning due to the increased circulation of Yen within the native economy and the availability of new types of capital goods - e.g., motorboats and trucks. Hence, whereas previously the o'eroal was called exclusively for new house construction or canoe building, it was possible at this time to ask both near and distant relatives to contribute to the purchase of a motorboat which then became private property and which was in some cases resold by the recipient at a profit (see chapter III for a more complete description of these changes.) The reform was manipulated by first convincing the Japanese administration of its necessity and then, before it became publicly known that the administration was contemplating such a change, the leadership of this faction advised the Ibidul (Ngiraked) and Reklai (Brel) of the contemplated "Japanese" change. Through some artful maneuvering the chiefs were convinced that their honor would be preserved if they, themselves, could anticipate the Japanese sponsored change by proposing the identical plan as their own. The scheme worked and the seals of both Ibidul and Reklai (the latter after considerable hesitation) were obtained on a legal document signifying their approval of the change. The plan called for, among other things, the following items:

- 1) O'eroal: This custom was to be limited to housebuilding, canoe

building and, for the mettet, purchasing of dugong bracelets. Distant relatives were not to be invited and attendance for close relatives was optional. The maximum amount to be paid was 30 yen per person or a bu'uldu'ub in Palau money which was equated with 30 yen.

- 2) 'Elebe'ilil: This custom was revised to remove the element of chance involved in the division of property and Palau money at the death of a spouse. The change specified an equitable distribution of Palau money, yen and personal property between the living spouse and the dead spouse's family. The property eventually designated for the children of the couple was to be held in trust by the living biological parent rather than by the child's merreder.
- 3) Omelu'el: The reform was directed at eliminating the commercialization of this custom. Food in legally specified amounts could be sent only to immediate biological female relatives. The payment in return of money (either Palau or yen) was to be the market value of the produce.
- 4) Ke'eldiil: This custom, referring to the money transactions which occur while a vigil is kept over a dead body, required the female relatives of a dead man to outbid each other in making contribution of Palau money and yen to the dead man's blai (which is also the blai of the contributing women who get the necessary money from their husbands). The ceremony lasted all night in the presence of the dead body. The reform completely prohibited such ceremonies to be held.
- 5) Ti'iyau: This custom functioned in any situation where a new clan head was installed. The rank of the clan generally determined the number of people who would attend - i.e., each successively lower ranking clan usually attended the celebration of all clans higher in rank. The ceremony involved competitive bidding to determine the size of contribution to be made to the blai of the newly installed chief. This custom was prohibited.
- 6) Bus: This was a type of bride price in which the bridegroom's blai paid money to the bride's merreder at the time of marriage. Due to certain unanticipated consequences of a Japanese regulation requiring a marriage ceremony, it became an occasion when the bride's family bargained for the maximum amount of yen and Palau money which it could extract from the bridegroom's relatives. The reform consisted of fixing both the amount of yen and Palau money which was to be paid.
- 7) Orrau: This was the second marriage payment which followed after the bride's merreder had sent the Tele'ul (food gift). It required a Kluk as payment. The reform eliminated the orrau by stipulating that if 100 yen or a kluk had been paid for the Bus, the money obligations between the two families had been met.

The above mentioned points represent a cursory presentation of the

elements constituting the reform successfully pushed through by the Collaborators. As is true of many legal sanctions (such as Prohibition in the United States, for example) which attempt to alter folkways by fiat, many aspects of the reform were soon violated. The significance of this attempted alteration of Palau customs lies in the effect which it was intended to have on certain groups in Palau. The net effect of these measures was aimed directly against those whose economic status or high social status positions were based on possession of Palau money and descent from the high ranking lineages. These customs, if successfully manipulated, served always to bring and consolidate more money within the metest families and to pauperize the other groups. The reform was designed to prevent this abuse and thus to reduce the metest to purely honorific positions without power. This perhaps best characterizes the whole rationale of the reform.

A third significant achievement of this group was the organization of the Kumiai Association (Producers Union) in 1935 of which Tellie became the head, the highest position held by a Palauan. This organization was intended to increase agricultural production and to secure dependable markets for Palauan produced agricultural surpluses. This, in a word, involved planned planting and planned selling so as to make farming commercially profitable. This was an idea which brought the fruits of capitalism to the peasant. Its striking success is best validated by the fact that the idea of a producer's union is still current in Palau.

The last and most significant success of this group was its decisive, though temporary, purge of Mokekneie in 1938. Tillie, acting as a plainclothes man, directed the entire investigation and gathered the evidence; and Ayaoka, then assistant chief of the Japanese court, managed the conviction of Ongesii through the circuitous routes of the Japanese courts. This was the most direct clash the two groups ever had and their relative power is symbolized by the outcome of the trial.

With the increased tempo of the prosecution of the Japanese war after 1939, this group became more and more involved in directly implementing Japanese policy. This involved labor recruitment, increasing production and the maintenance of civil order. These activities increased unabated until the first bombing of Palau in March of 1944 at which time a state of disorganization ensued. When this happened, Tellie became powerless and Rngull of Mokekneie symbolized the only integrating and stabilizing force in Palau.

In November or December of 1944, while the Japanese held Babelthaup and Korror and the United States held Anguar and Peliliou, Tellie made what was perhaps the most daring move of his eventful career - an unannounced escape from the Northern end of Babelthaup and committed himself to the United States authorities on Anguar.

Before considering our discussion of the American period, let us examine those elements in the Palau population who supported this faction.

The Composition of The Collaborators

The membership of this faction is less distinct by district than it

is for Modeknge. Although a preponderant number of supporters came from the districts of Korrer, Melekeok, Aimeai and Ng'esar, other factors seemed to be more significant as determinants for support of this group. The most significant factors appear to be the following:

- 1) If a person had taken a "culture tour" to Japan (and some 500 had done so between the years 1915 and 1927), he was not only likely to be a supporter of this group, but also one of its leadership nucleus.
- 2) If one descended from the patrilineal line of a high ranking clan and was thus precluded, by definition of the situation, from gaining a high status position in the native hierarchy and/or if one's clan rank was two, three or four, it is more than likely that he would support this group.
- 3) The members of low ranking clans in only the districts mentioned above were found to support this ideology.
- 4) Anyone who had received any "higher" education in Korrer or who possessed a skill or was affiliated with a foreign religion (for a continued period of time) was attracted to this ideology.
- 5) In general terms, the greatest support was derived from among those who occupied the status of young male between the ages of 20 and 40 (the group now in the age range 30 to 50).

The reasons why these factors are significant determinants in the composition of this group are manifold, involving situational and idiosyncratic elements, individual psychological factors, social structural changes and cultural predisposition. Perhaps the last two factors are best suited to an analysis of the particular composition of this group.

With the advent of the many Japanese induced social changes, the status of men in the middle age ranges was irreconcilably altered. Whereas previously a young man learned his crafts and skills from his father or in the men's house, and was tied to a life of subsistence agriculture, the new order called for formal educational training, job specialization and income derived from the Japanese dominated wage economy. Of course, it does not follow that a man must necessarily be attracted to these new life ways. Given, however, another variable, namely, the high valuation placed on female children (the exchange customs which funnelled money through married females), the economic advantage to a clan or blai of having many females married and the determination of succession principles on the basis of the matrilineal lineage, it immediately becomes apparent that the status of men in the indigenous system was extremely tenuous. Participation in the foreigner's social system and economic structure became for men an avenue through which their status position could become solidified and meaningful. The Japanese social system, which so heavily weighs the importances of men, opened up an abundance of new status opportunities for the men of Palau. Although the Japanese administration destroyed or mitigated the old statuses and roles, it also provided new and better ones which were eagerly accepted by the marginal members of the society - i.e. young men. The custom reform of 1934, for example, may be interpreted as specifically designed to re-

formulate the status position of men. By placing restrictive barriers on the functioning of Palau customs, a primary avenue through which females could gain prestige (bringing money into her clan or blai) was denied. And, adversely, the income derived from participation in the Japanese economy could be retained by the males and savings accumulated. Thus the reform can be seen as designed to reformulate the most basic status structure in Palau.

A culture tour to Japan or participation in a foreign religion (which both correlate very closely with the male status) were indications of the desire of the middle-aged male population to alter their status position in the indigenous social system. And there were, of course, other contributing factors involving such things as deviance, personality idiosyncracies, etc., which play an important role. For present purposes, aimed at delineating the overall picture, these factors may be overlooked.

The last determinant - stemming from the patrilineal line of descent within the clan and/or belonging to the second, third or fourth ranking clans - involves analysis at the cultural level. In the indigenous culture of Palau, the traditional patterns defined for the patrilineal lineage in a clan a certain permissiveness in its relations with the matrilineal lineage in the same clan through which power descended. This included an institutionalized prerogative to neglect deference patterns and also the right to intervene directly in clan affairs which were for the most part controlled by the matrilineal line. These cultural alternatives provided direct controls and checks on the wanton abuse of power and constituted the prestige foundation for the patrilineal lineage. In the same sense, the second, third and fourth ranking clans could invoke, in certain crucial situations, a type of veto privilege against the top ranking clans' attempted power abuses. These mechanisms for regulating power relationships within and between clans had begun to lose their effectiveness early in the Spanish era. Serious inroads, due primarily to foreign intervention, had been made on this tenuous power equilibrium. The number one ranking clans in the various districts had consolidated their authority positions which opened the way for a new type of despotic rule. Those groups - the patrilineal lines within clans together with the low ranking clans who had lost out in the power struggle - were eager to turn to an ideology which called for a movement away from the "perverted" old order. This crucial change in the social equilibrium is precisely the reason why Omang, Tellie, Ayoke (all stemming from the patrilineal line of number one clans) assumed the leadership of the collaborators, and why, in general, the dispossessed metest responded favorably to this program.

The last and perhaps most interesting period in the history of this group occurred during the American Period (for purposes of this study from 1945 to 1947). Following the collapse in 1944 and the general disorganization of the ensuing year, the representatives of this group attempted a "come-back" as soon as the United States Naval Administration assumed control of Palau in 1945.

The U. S. Naval Period - 1945 to 1947.

The content of the various native ideologies has been consistently shaped by the aims of the dominant foreign group. For this reason it is

advisable to briefly characterize the aims of United States policy in Palau. Most succinctly it can be said that this policy is predicated on "indirect rule" (i.e., permitting the native social system to function along its own inherent course and implementing administrative policy within the framework of the indigenous native system) and directed at maintaining a non-violent situation while making Palau economically self-sufficient. These aims translated into action call for, at a minimum, the following measures:

- 1) A maximum of control over the native constabulary for effective law enforcement and a minimum imposition of foreign civil and criminal legal codes.
- 2) In order to make Palau economically self-sufficient, the administration has implemented the following policies:
 - a) An extensive educational program designed to train practical nurses and doctors in Western medical techniques.
 - b) An agricultural training program designed to instruct young men in "scientific" agricultural practices in order to maximize farm production.
 - c) Administrative officials have encouraged and emphasized the necessity for Palauans to recapture the ways of their old technology. This involved training young men in the manufacture of, for example, fish nets, fish traps, the traditional knowledge of the fishing complex (spawning grounds, turtle coves, seasonal game variations, etc.).
 - d) Emphasis has been placed upon producing native handicrafts (woven mats, wooden implements, figures, etc.) for commercial export.
 - e) Pursuance of a general policy directed at the minimal employment of natives in the foreign economic structure.
 - f) And, in most general terms, attention has been focused on redefining for the Palauan what his economic needs should be. Contrary to Japanese policy - which was predicated on inducing new needs (rice, coffee, bicycles, foreign style homes, etc.) United States policy must attempt to eliminate the Japanese created needs and substitute those needs which could be met by the indigenous natural resources and technology (with some important exceptions, however, such as metal tools and kerosene lanterns).

Given the basic policy briefly characterized above, the next question becomes: "What is its effect on the collaborationist faction?" It must be remembered, of course, that this policy does not arise spontaneously but is rather the result of a slow developmental process. And the same, of course, holds for the development of the Collaborating faction.

The initial period immediately following United States occupation was one of confusion - the inevitable confusion which follows from the

transfer of authority. Each group has life ways which are strange and perplexing to each other. Understanding is impeded by the barrier of different languages. Time is needed for each group to gain structured conceptions of each other. The foreign administrators must become acquainted with the capabilities and status of the various individuals with whom they must deal. The native leaders must learn techniques for dealing with the foreign administration and must also calculate his objectives (frequently a matter of making tenuous inferences).

Recognizable patterns in the relationships between the two groups were, however, quick to develop. Most significant, and evidenced at the very first, was the tendency for the Collaborators to resume their role as the power mediaries between the foreign administration and the indigenous political structure. For example, Tellie, upon his return from Anguar to Korror in 1945 (where he received almost a hero's welcome from his followers who had presumed him to be dead) immediately assumed the role of spokesman for the Paluans in relations with the administration. In addition to this there was an initial tendency for those formerly employed by the Japanese to be given job preference by the administration. This was, of course, what might be expected. The collaborators possessed the skills necessary in both dealing with foreigners (a nebulous but highly important skill) and also in performing adequately in the foreigners' occupational demands - typists, clerks, radio operators, constables, warehousemen, etc.

Due to these facts - a monopoly of political and technical skills - it initially appeared as though the previously existent power groupings within the native society would be retained. But due to the fact that United States policy had not yet crystallized this was only a transient phenomenon. It was not until the last half of 1946 and through beginning of 1948 (the period during which the field work was conducted) that United States policy assumed a definite form. It was in this period that it becomes possible to discern the future of this faction. And the factor which will most likely shape the course of events is the lack of ideological correspondence between the administration and the collaborators.

Initially, Jose Tellie and his group had been psychologically prepared for a continuation (but on a bigger and better scale) of further improvements and progress for Palau a la Japanese. These preconceived expectations (which envisioned the reconstruction of Korror to her former grandeur, extensive public improvements, full employment, etc.) of what the United States would do for Palau were based on this type of reasoning: 1) the obvious superiority of American culture as proved by the strength, equipment and supplies of her armed forces which decisively defeated and crushed the heretofore regarded "invincible and superior" Japanese culture and 2) the failure to recognize America's limited interests in Palau (military security) which precluded extensive colonization and industrial development.

It soon became apparent, however, that the administration was not interested in continuing the type of social change pursued by the Japanese. In fact, it was recognized that certain aspects of United States policy conformed closely to those elements in Modeknge ideology which called for a return to the old order. The Modeknge catch-phrase "Palau for the Paluans" became for the United States Administration "but only Palau

culture for the Palauans". The "but only Palau" is, of course, antithetical to the whole of the collaborators ideology, based on change and "progress".

The net effect of this lack of ideological correspondence is manifold. As mentioned previously, the United States Administration recognized the traditional political structure of Palau (although at times this was difficult to define) - legitimate chiefs as defined by lineage and the decisions of chiefs councils. This had the effect not only of undercutting the collaborators' power, but also of enhancing the power of chiefs (compared to their power-ratio during the Japanese administration). Secondly, since the basis of the collaborators' power in the previous period had been secured as a Japanese-given gratuity (in the same sense that the present chiefs hold power as a result of a United States gratuity), Tellie and his group found themselves quickly displaced by the traditional chiefs as a function of American policy. Lacking the job patronage and prestige which had previously served as effective means of securing support for their faction they were unable to hold their group together. As a result of the above mentioned factors, this collaborationist group has become internally fractionalized. It is in reality no longer an integrated group, but rather composed of many disgruntled, dissatisfied individuals.

Looking at political opinion in Palau as falling on a continuum from pro-old order to pro-new order, some of its members have reverted to the ideology of the old order represented by the chiefs and others have formulated a new ideology more radical than anything previously known. In between these two extremes there are a certain number of individuals, including Tellie and other members of his former group, who attempt to mediate between the two extremes. But this middle position is apparently structurally untenable since those who subscribe to it are currently in the process of excusing themselves from governmental duties and reverting back to the soil as farmers. This is true even for Tellie who avoids political affairs and has taken up residence on a farm some distance from Korror.⁶

Two new groups, then, emerge in the United States era. On the one hand is the rejuvenated indigenous political hierarchy (the chiefs and the chiefs' council) which largely replaced Modeknge as a force, and on the other hand there is a group of radicals, largely young intellectuals, who represent something new and who replace the old collaborators.

Before proceeding, it is necessary once again to discuss the term "collaborators". Due to United States policy, it might appear that the chiefs, themselves, had become collaborators since they co-operate directly with the administration, but according to our definition this is not the case. The two distinguishing characteristics of the collaborators are 1) an ideology calling for social change in the direction of a new order which 2) cannot be effected without the assistance of the foreign administration. The present ideology of the chiefs calls for a return to the old order which cannot be implemented without the assistance of the administration and thus, regardless of the latter fact of collaboration, we may still consider them nativistic.

(6) In Tellie's case, a more complete analysis would necessarily have to include certain personality factors.

The radical's ideology calls for social change along new directions which cannot be implemented without the assistance of the foreigner. Regardless of the fact that this assistance is not likely to be forthcoming, it does not preclude our labelling them collaborators in the same sense as we did for Tellie in the Japanese period. For purposes of clarity, however, in the following discussion we will refer to the two groups as the chiefs and radicals. This discussion is limited to these two groups because it is felt that they represent two significant protagonist elements on the present scene.

The Chiefs and the Radicals in Contemporary Palau

The present ideology of the chiefs, though perhaps not differing too much from what it was when they were affiliated with Modeknge, contains new twists due to the fact that they are once again in a dominant power position. In most general terms the chiefs¹ are nativists, characterized by a desire to return to the old culture ways. But the methods they suggest to achieve their ideology differ from those employed by Modeknge. The religio-revivalistic elements in Modeknge are scorned by the chiefs. Their methods, in keeping with the political nature of their functions, are rationalistic. In order to revive the old Palau culture ways, they suggest the following measures:

- 1) To study the old Palau customs, for example, the biolobo or the ancient history of the clans, in order to determine which customs shall be kept and which removed. It is significant that those customs which they suggest studying have long ceased to function.
- 2) To reinstitute the old Palau deference patterns - thus, for example, those who pass the district of Melekeok in a boat should do so in a sitting rather than the "impolite" standing position and proper respect should be shown to chiefs by lower ranking individuals when they meet on a path or road or meeting room (i.e. stepping off the path, remaining motionless, not talking unless spoken to, etc.)
- 3) To revive the old bei culture which includes interdistrict gatherings and formal political council meetings.
- 4) To continue the various exchange customs - o'eroal, Omolu'el, Bus, etc. - which constitute the basis of the chief's income.
- 5) To reorganize district affiliations. In the case of Reklai, this means an attempt to "re-unite" Ngiwal, Nge'sar and possibly Keyangle with Melekeok. For Reklai, this generally means to increase the scope of his duties.

Given the legitimacy of the chiefs' power, by definition of the

(7) The ideal type drawn in the following discussion draws heavily on material derived from Reklai (Brel). The present Ibidul is a notable exception to this typology.

situation, these aims are promoted exclusively within the native social system and, in fact, come to the attention of the administration only indirectly. As an example of this type of strategy done without the knowledge of the United States administration, we may suggest Reklai's offer to give the districts of Ngiwal and Nge'sar trochus gathering rights on the Melekeok reef in exchange for the unification of those districts under Melekeok.

The exact characteristics of the supporters of this ideology is not completely known. However, it was apparent that there was considerable resentment against the chiefs. Perhaps the only individuals who wholeheartedly support the chiefs are those who stem from a matrilineal lineage in the number one ranking clans of the various districts. In addition, one might venture to include the everpresent, randomly distributed, opportunists.

The emergence of a new radical ideology represents the fruits of the Japanese acculturation program. Extensive education, the new occupational structure, industrialization and the Western monetary economy may be suggested to partially account for this faction. And for a comprehensive understanding, one cannot overlook certain unique historical factors (such as the return from Japan at the end of the war of a highly educated individual, Sakuma, who ranked as an *abuul* in the native class hierarchy) which play an important role in the rise of this faction in the post-war period.

Perhaps the most significant residue left by the Japanese was their influence on a large body of young males who currently fall in the age range from about 20 to 35. Within this group are included the most highly acculturated segment of Palau - i.e., those most deeply immersed in and affected by Japanese life-ways and social thinking. Among the outstanding in this group are those whose contact with the Japanese included trips to Japan for the purposes of academic and technical training. For example, two men had college training in Japan, a number had attended Japanese middle school and still others had received training in mechanics, accounting or pharmacy.

The two most significant representatives of this ideology are Sakuma and Jeno Takeo, both young men approximately thirty years old. Sakuma, between the years 1939 to 1946, was in Japan pursuing academic studies in the Seventh Day Adventist College at which he received the equivalent of the B.A. and M.A. degrees. At the time the field work was conducted he was acting as Superintendent of Schools and was unmarried. Takeo, the son of Ibiul's daughter and a Japanese official, was educated in the Japanese middle school on Palau. For six years, three on Saipan and three in Palau, he worked in the General Affairs Section of the South Seas Bureau. Following this, from 1941 to 1943, he became the general manager for the Nanyo Hotel in Koror.

Sakuma and Takeo, as a pair, may be taken as the greatest exponents of the radical ideology and also as its most articulate and fearless proponents. In a number of crucial instances, they have collaborated in promoting certain programs, each contributing his own unique qualities to the radical program. Sakuma may be characterized as the faction's man-of-ideas and Takeo as the provider of administrative knowledge and bureaucratic efficiency. Neither of them is familiar with the functional operation of the indigenous political structure - one of their greatest disadvantages.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the radical ideology, we may briefly describe the most significant events involving this faction. Sakuma returned from Japan in the Spring of 1946 in a reformist frame of mind. This attitude developed from first, his conception of himself as the most highly educated and therefore most respected Palauan⁸; and secondly, from information concerning conditions on Palau which he received in Saipan while on his way home. On Saipan, Sakuma had learned that Palau had returned to her old "barbaric" ways, the chiefs had been re-invested in their authority, and strange and outlandish customs had been revived. Out of this, Sakuma, in almost martyr-like fashion, defined for himself the task of continuing "progress" for Palau. Before even arriving to Palau he had formulated a plan to reorganize the Sienan Dan (Young Men's Organization). In addition to this, he had constructed a public opinion questionnaire which he had hoped to use to gain some insight into the climate of opinion in Palau. The questionnaire, designed to determine the attitudes of young people on a variety of issues, included, among others, the following questions (paraphrased):

- 1) What type of education is most necessary for Palau? - i.e., education in technical skills or in old Palau customs.
- 2) What type of marriage life do you prefer? - i.e., patrilocal residence or independent household.
- 3) In what respects is Palau most retarded? - i.e., which customs and practices are obsolescent and which should be kept?
- 4) How do you think the problem of Palau money and Palau women can be solved? i.e., marriage as a source of income for the clan or separation of Palau money from marriage arrangements.
- 5) What should be the nature of one's relationships with his relatives? - i.e., financial interdependence of ongalak through the matrilineal lineage or the immediate biological family as an independent economic unit.

The motive lying behind the questionnaire was a rational, though unrealistic, attempt to determine what potential support might be available for a program of social change. It is perhaps almost unnecessary to state that due to situational factors this attempt was quickly aborted. Such a radical departure from the accepted canons of political behavior was quickly squashed after the first few questionnaires had been distributed.

By the summer of 1946, Sakuma and Takeo had joined together on other plans. By this time the administration had already established a Palau Government designed to mediate between the naval administration and the native political structure. In addition to this, the concept of "democracy" had been favorably introduced into Palau. In the conceptions of those two young men, the Palau government as then structured was viewed as anachronistic to the concept of democracy unless supplemented by a legislative body such as a congress. In a word, democracy in its ideal form became the watchword (rather than catch phrase) of the radical ideo-

(8) This arises from the fact that in 1939, when Sakuma left Palau, educa-

logy. Takeo proceeded to draw up elaborate plans (including election rules, representation rules, division of authority, etc.) for the structure of a new democratic government. These plans in July of 1946 were presented by Sakuma and Takeo to an assembled group of chiefs, Palau government officials, and administration employees. The plan, as might be expected, was received unfavorably by this group. Although there was considerable support for the plan in the general population, it was for the most part inarticulate. The chiefs who by this time were rapidly becoming entrenched in their old positions of authority, looked askance at such innovation. Furthermore, the plan had not been cleared with the administration, a necessary procedure for so radical a departure from tradition.

The net effect of these episodes served to almost completely undermine whatever prestige Sakuma and Takeo had had in Palau society. In addition to this, their brash disregard for accepted political practices served as an objective lesson in the functioning of the political structure of Palau. Thus, this initially vigorous leadership died in embryo.

From the middle of 1946 to the time the field work was conducted, there was little done by way of direct implementation of this ideology. Takeo, on the basis of his technical accounting skill, became the finance officer for the Palau government. Sakuma, on the other hand, turned to making direct appeals to the United States administration. Thwarted in all his attempts to work directly within the native structure, he began composing polemics in English which he submitted to the Administration's native affairs officer⁹ for consideration. The aim of these papers was to bring to the attention of the administration what he considered to be the significant issues in Palau. This attempt to translate the radical ideology into action also met with little success. When it became apparent to Sakuma that the techniques he employed were either inadequate or ill-directed, he gradually began to withdraw from the political arena as an outspoken leader. In 1948 he was a dissatisfied, discouraged and humiliated individual. Although he was acting as superintendent of schools, he was considering at this time, the possibility of removing himself from official duties and retiring to a small plot of land.

The ideological content of the radical faction lays extreme emphasis on major social changes. The policy was conceived in the expectation that it would receive the support of the United States administration. Its expression was precluded by its lack of correspondence with the present administrative policy. Nevertheless, if its significance were limited only to the fact that it illustrated the extreme radical position in Palau, its analysis would be warranted. But its significance is undoubtedly greater than that, since it represents the expression of a large body of opinion in Palau. For the foregoing reason, the ideological content of the radical position must be summarized. In briefest form it may be outlined as follows:

- 1) To resume the industrial development of Palau by further ex-

tion and intellectual ability rather than lineage was a primary basis for evaluating people, a criterion used by both the Japanese and many other Palauans.

- (9) See Appendix I for three examples of these.

plotation of natural resources.

- 2) To abolish all exchange customs (such as o'eroal, Onelu'el, etc.) except Bus (which acts as a deterrent to divorce).
- 3) To reduce Palau money to the status of ornamental jewelry - i.e., eliminate its functional base but permit women to wear it.
- 4) To redefine the status of chief in such a way as to reduce its authority to a minimum, but to permit its social prestige based on lineage. This is predicated on the argument that chiefs are incapable of coping with administrative orders (can not read) and do not have the training necessary to deal with the foreigners.
- 5) To switch the kinship system from the matrilineal to a patrilineal pattern. This would have the effect of eliminating social relationships with the extended matrilineal relatives and in the end would eventuate in a conjugal family with descent traced through the father. This, of course, ties in with the Palau money problem and also inheritance practices.

As is evident from the above points, this program is nothing more than the logical extension of the aims propounded by Tellie and his group during the thirties. However, whereas formerly the focus was on a number of peripheral, though important, issues, the radicals conceived the nub of the problem to lie in the essential incompatibility between 1) a matrilineal kinship system which supports a lineage determined power and class system and 2) the integration of the Palau social and economic structure into the Western industrialized, capitalistic system.¹⁰ Their program follows as a developmental necessity from the acculturation policy begun by the Japanese. Its lack of correspondence with United States policy gives it an almost schizophrenic appearance. One of the basic patterns running through Palau culture at the present time is the inability of this group of natives to conceive and their unwillingness to believe that the United States has few or no intentions of carrying on with the industrial development and social reform program which the Japanese initiated. Expectations continue to be geared to the day when American colonizers and businessmen will arrive.

The supporters of this ideology (hardly a faction since it is so disunited and has so little possibility of achievement under present conditions) are numerous and easily identifiable. The following draws heavily from the following segments of the population:

- 1) It consists of the greater proportion of all residents of Korrer including almost all age ranges and both sexes, but excluding members of the first and second ranking clans in the matrilineal

(10) This is regardless of the objective possibility or probability of such an integration occurring during the United States Administration.

lineages of the clan.

- 2) It includes almost all individuals who held high status positions under the Japanese regime, but who are not now employed by the United States administration.
- 3) It includes practically all Palauans who claim a Japanese ancestor.
- 4) The most inclusive and general status category from which the greatest segment of ideological adherents derive is the status of male between the ages of 20 and 35. This element, of course, cross-cuts at many points the three preceding factors.

Given such an extensive although inarticulate following, it is reasonable to ask why this group is at present so ineffectual as a force in Palau. The answer is rather simple. It involves, first of all, the fact that its initial leadership was naive, ineffectual and had only tenuous claims to prestige or power within the native political structure. Sekuma is, for example, an ebuul - i.e., of low class family. Secondly, and most important, is the fact that the radical ideology received no support from the foreign administration. This ideology is in a sense a victim of circumstances - the circumstances being the turn of world events that brought Palau under the domination of a country interested only in using the island for strategic purposes and not for purposes of colonization or commercial exploitation.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CHANGE AND CONTEMPORARY FACTIONS

The problem for this concluding chapter is to arrive at a satisfactory explanation for the presence of the particular type of dysfunctional factionalism which exists in Palau during the American period. It will be remembered from Chapter I that dysfunctional factionalism is defined as a condition where various groups in a society hold differing views as to the central values or goals of a society, and furthermore that these diverging orientations are disruptive for the functioning of the social system. Before going into the specific analysis, a few comments are necessary with regard to the general framework within which the discussion will be centered.

Two variables which are essential components in the analysis of this problem include first, the nature and type of alternatives (policies) presented to Palau by the four colonial administrations, and secondly, the nature of the indigenous social system, including the institutional structure (statuses and roles), the cultural tradition, and motivational forces and mechanisms. Since acculturation is a two-way phenomena involving both the native and foreign systems in a dynamic relationship, it is necessary to consider the problem of factionalism in terms of the way the colonial policies impinged on the native social system, disrupting established patterns and relations and creating new responses to the situation.

It will be recalled from Chapter I that the principal function of institutional patterns is to define the situation of action, the actions and attitudes legitimately expected of people within a society. Institutions, according to the Parsonian schema, are patterned expectations defining proper or legitimate behavior of persons playing certain roles. These brief formulations suggest the crux of the problem relating to the factions existing on Palau during the American period. That is, the patterned expectations built up during the thirty years of Japanese rule did not fit the new situation as structured by United States colonial policy. Certain statuses and roles were changed and a regrouping of forces within the society took place. These changes affected the individual's value orientations and his definition of the situation, forcing him to make a general readjustment and to seek new orientations.

The specific question which must be answered is: how do changes in the social system effect individuals' definitions of the situation so that they respond by taking diverse ideological positions that may be disruptive for the society? For example, due to the new situation, Modeknge found its ideology closely congruent with that of the administration. Its most important following, the chiefs, no longer needed the security and support previously derived from Modeknge, and consequently opposed it. They became staunch supporters of the American administration, which, at the same time, was willing to restore

them to their former power. For the Collaborators, the new situation precluded their receiving gratuitous power from the new administration. They were unable to formulate for themselves a new and adequate definition of the situation and thus a period of confusion ensued. The old techniques and skills utilized in controlling the indigenous system no longer worked and new techniques and skills adequate to the new situation were not developed. The Radicals, who represent the most acculturated group, refused to accept the new situation and, in some cases, could not arrive at a satisfactory definition of the situation for themselves. This resulted from their strong orientation to Japanese policy and their belief that it was the only satisfactory administrative policy for Palau. Unable to readjust to the changed situation, the Radicals refused to accept the new policy, and as an alternative response, developed a program for radical reform of Palau's power hierarchy and customs. All these responses of the various factions to the new situation resulted from the fact that the old patterned expectations which had been effective during the Japanese period were no longer possible of fulfillment in the new situation created in the American period. Hence new definitions of the situation became necessary and the Collaborators, for one group, were not able to formulate them.

The responses of the various factions to the new situation created during the United States colonial period are only a partial explanation of the total problem. Although they explain to a certain extent the ideological positions taken by these groups toward the American administration, they do not explain their appearance on the native scene or the reasons for the specific content of their ideology.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory explanation of these last mentioned factors, the problem must be posed in yet another way. It may be stated as follows: how does the nature of the indigenous system and the types of cultural alternatives or colonial policies, and the conditions under which they were presented by the four foreign administrations, interact so as to explain the development of the present political factions in Palau? As has been suggested throughout the report, the interaction of these two factors has been the cause of a great deal of varied social and cultural change in Palau. The changes discussed in Chapters III and IV were not, however, viewed from the vantage point of how they contributed to the rise of factions. It is proposed at this point to consider four basic factors: 1) the clan and power structures; 2) the kinship system; 3) the religious structure; and 4) the economic structure, insofar as changes in these patterns relate to the development and content of the ideology of the various factions. Changes in these factors are seen as requiring new definitions of the situation from: 1) the point of view of the system as a whole; and 2) from the point of view of the individuals within the situation. Needless to say, there need not necessarily be any correspondence between the objective definition of the situation and the individual's definition of the situation for himself.

The Clan and Power Structures

Due to the intimate connection between the clan and power structures, which are both rooted in the system of kinship, it is perhaps best to treat these two aspects of the problem together. In the Spanish period there was noted a crystallization of power in the hands of the chiefs who represented the top-ranking clans. The structure of the power system thus became cemented in the form which existed in the decade of the 1890s. This fact, together with the role played by the Spanish priests, tended to break the authoritarian position of the shaman and, in less direct fashion, reduced the power of opposition held by the lower ranking clans. The German administration contributed toward the further development of this trend - especially with regard to the shamanistic role. But the significant aspect of the German rule lay in its policy of disregarding the concept of legitimacy through lineage. The power incumbent in the status of chief was great, but a chief could be deposed and replaced with an individual from a lower ranking clan. In addition to this, the German period saw the development of a new power structure - the power mediaries - whose function was to mediate between the foreign and indigenous systems. In the Japanese era the indigenous power structure was completely superseded by the authority of the Japanese administrator and policeman. The power mediaries played an extremely crucial role, but their power was based on gratuity from the Japanese. Position in the clan based on lineage no longer played a crucial role in determining the distribution of power.

How do these two factors - the colonial policy and the character of the indigenous system - contribute in their interaction to the development of factionalism? The legitimate chiefs, who suffered a continuous loss in power from the German period onward, tenaciously held to the normative patterns prescribed by the old system. Although the objective situation had been redefined, they continued to function according to their definition of what the system "ought" to be. The ideology of *Modelknig* included a definition for an ideal situation in Palau and was eagerly accepted by the chiefs. The Collaborators, on the other hand, had no lineage claims to power within the native system. They acquired the foreigner's skills and language and gradually worked themselves into the absolute power system of the Japanese. The *raison d'être* of this group was continued co-operation and further acculturation to the foreign. Acceptance of the new situation was a *sine qua non* for the maintenance and improvement of their status in the society. Their definition of the situation embraced new criteria for what constituted the useful man (intelligence, education, industrial and clerical skills), a de-emphasis on the normative standards which made lineage so important, and an adherence to the concept of progress for Palau. This became tantamount to an ideology and was responsible for making inroads on the configurations of Palau culture.

When the United States government arrived on the scene,

its administrators were faced with the divergent expectations of these two groups.¹ Its policies, rather fortuitously, favored the situation defined by Modeknge ideology, which was advantageous to the position of the chiefs. The specific leaders of Modeknge lost control, both because the chiefs no longer needed their support and because certain aspects of American policy operated against them. These were: 1) the insistence of the administration on the separation of the functions of religion from the functions of governing and healing; and 2) an insistence on the monogamous family. Both polygamy and religio-politics were basic elements in Modeknge and their removal weakened its power to control. The new situation defined Modeknge as a religion, exclusively, a basis upon which it could not function.

The expectations of the Collaborators were for the rebuilding and further development of Palau along the lines of the Japanese program. When the situation in the American period became crystallized, the Collaborators realized the futility of their hopes. This faction disintegrated as an effective group, due to its inability to function within the situation as it was now structured.

The Radicals, perhaps because Japanese acculturation had had its greatest effect on them and because they had a well-formulated ideology, also could not accept the new situation (especially the resumption of the power of the chiefs) but hoped through direct action to make their own definition of the situation prevail.

The Kinship System

For present purposes, only one aspect of the kinship system will be considered: the practice of allowing a male the option of choosing his patrilineal line. It will be recalled from Chapter II that there are two factors involved here. On the one hand, males stemming from the original ancestral talungalak have a right to retain the clan name of their father and thereby perpetuate a patrilineal lineage without power in the maternal sib and, on the other hand, males may choose their father's clan in any generation, depending on the advantages in land, titles or wealth which may result from this choice. Throughout the history of Palau's contact with the Germans and Japanese, programs for economic development² were promoted by the foreigners. The objectives of these programs were intended to produce a surplus of consumption goods and to exploit the islands' natural resources. In the Japanese period, industrialization created an occupational structure necessary for the functioning of such a system. In addition to this, the concept of private property was introduced. The net effect of this economic development was to increase the males' control over the economic aspects of the native system. Men became wealthy,

1. The Japanese nationals by this time had been repatriated to Japan.

2. See the section on Economic Structure, below.

owned land, and had the exclusive right to participate in the foreigners' economic structure. Advantages formerly derived from the matrilineal lineage (land, title, Palau money) became less significant. The role of the biological father assumed new functions. A son could now inherit money and land directly, and with the father's assistance, secure a job in the industrial economy. For these reasons, a tendency arose for males to follow the patrilineal lineage, with the result that the matrilineal line lost some of its controlling function -- titles, for example, became less significant.

With the redefined situation created during the United States period, descent through the matrilineal lineage resumed its importance and clan affiliation became crucially important. Those individuals who had selected the patrilineal line, or who were half-bloods (Japanese-Palau) and had no close clan affiliations, became persona non grata in the internal functioning of the clan. The young men in these last groups became precisely the most discontented element in the population, since the new situation, by providing no clear definition of their status or a definition which lowered their status, placed them at a disadvantage. This fact no doubt partially accounts for the emphasis on changing to patriliney found in the ideology of the Radicals.

The Religious Structure

The changes in the religious structure with which this analysis is concerned involve: 1) the function of the shaman; and 2) the meaning to the Palauan of the system of beliefs prescribed by the Palau religion. The functions of the shaman were greatly restricted as early as the Spanish period and were practically eliminated during the German era. Throughout the Japanese period, emphasis was placed on various foreign religious groups - Catholics, Lutherans³ and Seventh-Day Adventists. As an expedient to further acculturation, the Japanese supported these religions. Individual Palauans became functionaries in the structures of the foreign religions, but officials in these religious systems could not assume the shaman's role. For all practical purposes, the shaman's function of acting as a check on the chief's abuse of power was eliminated. In the German and Japanese periods, this loss of the internal checks and balances had little effect on the native system because the responsibility for maintaining equilibrium within the indigenous system was assumed by the foreigner. The native system, so to speak, was no longer self-contained. The force of external pressures impinged upon it and provided a certain type of regulation. A system which previously functioned within a series of implicit normative rules was now "guided" on a rational basis by a foreign administrator. In itself, this factor did not directly contribute to the development of factionalism. It did, however, create a situation which left a

3. Called "Protestants" by the Palau people.

void for the rise of a similar type of religious leader. Tomedad and Ongesii (and perhaps Rdiall) in a sense exploited the vacuum created by the destruction of the shamanistic role. The performance of their roles corresponded closely enough to what was a legitimate status in the indigenous system to be acceptable. This is simply to point out that a necessary condition for the successful appeal of Modekngie lay in its semi-religious nature and its healing aspects.

For any people, the system of beliefs circumscribed by their indigenous religion constitutes one of the most tenacious aspects of their culture. Regardless of the sincere and persistent efforts made by the various missionaries to convert Palau to Christianity, only a few aspects of the Christian dogmas have been interiorized by the Palau people. Where force has been applied (as in the case of the Germans) or where the process of making an invidious comparison (as in the case of the Japanese) has been stressed, the effect has been to drive these beliefs underground and to create an area of cultural secrecy.⁴ The onslaught of the foreigner could not, however, go unopposed. Destruction of the temples and prohibitions on making offerings in the eldeng contributed toward removing the overt manifestations of religious beliefs. Yet Modekngie, as a partially religious movement, served to fulfill certain needs for religious expression of the people. Furthermore, it not only incorporated many aspects of the old system of beliefs, but also encompassed within its framework alien ideas (the size of the world, Palau's insignificance in the world, etc.) which could not be avoided conveniently by the Palau people. All of these ideas were integrated into a system of beliefs with a unique coloration. This may account for the extensivity of the appeal which this movement had.

What is the effect of these factors in explaining the characteristics of factionalism as it is presented in the United States period? American policy, based on a minimum of direct rule and a maximum of self-rule, returned authority to the chiefs. This was precisely the definition of the situation hoped for by the chiefs and upon which their actions throughout the Japanese period had been predicated. The Radicals, who found it difficult to conceive of the chiefs as having any power at all (since during their lifetimes the Japanese were the only legitimate authority) defined the situation as leading to "barbarism". Their course of action included direct appeals to the foreign administration to resume power, and attacks upon the native chiefs. Their patterned expectations were not fulfilled and rational action for them consisted of making abortive attempts to change the United States' policy.

So far as Modekngie was concerned, the new foreigner's

4. For this reason, the whole area of the structure and function of Palau religion is most difficult to ascertain. Although to the outside observer there does not appear to be a Palau religion, there is no doubt that it plays an important role in contemporary Palau.

policy recognized the integrity of the indigenous system and thereby removed the American administration as an object of attack. There were no barriers against the free expression of any kind of religion, and the foreigner, by legitimizing the old system, removed the necessity for Modeknge's integrative function.

The Economic Structure

Those aspects of the economic structure to be considered, insofar as they relate to the development of factionalism, include the interaction of the foreign and indigenous money systems, changes in the occupational structure, the shift from a subsistence to a surplus economy, the introduction of the concept of private property, the industrialization of Palau, and changes in the functioning of the exchange and contributory customs.

The economic policies of both the German and Japanese administrations were predicated on changing the Palau economy from one of subsistence to one of surplus. This included developing the agricultural, mineral and marine-life potential of the islands. In addition to this, Palau was utilized as a consumption market for goods manufactured in the homeland. The full effect of these economic policies was felt by the middle of the Japanese period. By this time industrialization had become a fact. The old occupational structure, which consisted of bai building, boat building, fishing, fish net and fish trap construction, etc., had given way to those occupations necessary to sustain the new industrial system - mechanics, clerks, laborers, etc. Furthermore, the capitalistic aspects of the new system - exchange patterns and private property - created such new occupations as broker, small businessman and middleman, who functioned in the distribution system. With manifold sources for acquiring purchasing power, new consumption demands could be satisfied and, in some instances, money could be saved. Foreign money and the things it could buy had become a new basis for status in the social hierarchy. In this whole process of change in the economic structure, the exchange and contributory customs remained as the primary obstacle to the complete capitalistic development of Palau. They provided economic support for the matrilineal system and for the status of the chiefs and those metect who were not integrated into the new economy. But in 1934 these customs were reformed with the sanction of law.

The full, combined impact of these economic developments was not felt on the native system until the latter half of the decade of the thirties. Although they cannot be used in the analysis to explain the rise of factionalism, they may be used in explaining its intensification between the years 1935 and 1940. In other words, the effects of these economic changes sharpened the already existent cleavages in Palau. The foreign money system increased the purchasing power and status of those who participated in the new occupational structure. Possession of the

skills necessary to function successfully in the capitalistic-industrial economy became the open sesame to wealth. When the reform of the exchange and contributory customs occurred, the most important pipeline through which foreign money could be channeled into the native system was destroyed.

Women, chiefs, old people and meteet generally suffered the most under this new system. Women, whose role functions had already been seriously altered, were now faced with the loss of their economic functions in the blai kinship unit and also were left without the security of the traditional inheritance rules. The meteet generally, and the chiefs specifically, who through the manipulation of the exchange customs had been able to sustain their wealth, were left without adequate means after the reform, and were forced to commit themselves to labor in the fields. Old people do not generally work in Palau since the extended family functioned in such a way as to provide for them a life of leisure (the exchange and contributory customs are one aspect of this). This group, for the same reasons mentioned above, became one of the most deprived in Palau.

A basically new situation had been structured by these changes in the economy. The new economic structure functioned in such a way as to deprive the groups mentioned above (women, old people, meteet and chiefs) from what they considered to be their legitimate expectations. In other words, their expectations, which were based on the continued functioning of the old economic order, could not be fulfilled in the new situation. The ideology of Modeknge in the 1930s called for a redefinition of the situation which would permit these groups to fulfill their expectations. This was especially symbolized by the crystallization of anti-Japanese sentiment in that period. Thus the appeal made by Modeknge to these groups was effective and accounts for the intensification of its activities and the increase in its following after 1935.

The group of young and middle-aged men, at that time between the ages of 20 and 40, who most heavily committed themselves to the new capitalistic-industrial economy, received the most benefit from participation in it. Advantages accrued to them from participation in the new occupation structure, from ownership of private property and from the custom reform of 1934. The expectations of this group were reformulated in the Japanese period and could only be fulfilled by the new economic system. When Modeknge in 1937 began to make serious encroachments upon the new system (for example, by sanctioning illegal use of the reformed exchange customs) and overtly deviated in the direction of the old culture patterns, the clash between these two groups became inevitable. New repressive measures, backed up by the Japanese, were instigated against Modeknge and the Collaborators' expectations could continue to be fulfilled only at the expense of this other group.

But once again in the Japanese period, the situation shifted. With the intensification of the war in the Pacific

and the actual bombing of Palau, a general disorganization and loss of control by the Japanese and the Collaborators ensued. The authority of Modekngie prevailed and provided the primary integrative function for native society. Old practices and normative patterns received the sanction of Modekngie. Those groups which subscribed to the Modekngie ideology once again had an objective basis for believing that their expectations would be fulfilled. The Collaborators, on the other hand, defined the war-time situation as temporary. They expected that peace would bring a situation similar to that which prevailed in Palau in the 1930s. For a long time it was believed that the Japanese would be victorious and that the hoped-for reversion would be directed by them. When it became apparent that the Japanese could not win the war, the Collaborators conveniently switched their loyalties from the Japanese to the Americans, and based their hopes for fulfillment of their expectations on the expected new colonial administration. Tolle was perhaps the first to analyse the situation in such a manner, and this, no doubt, explains his deliberated escape from Babelthaup and his early identification with the United States forces.

Thus when the United States administration arrived, both groups had a basis for believing that their expectations would be fulfilled. The Collaborators were most hopeful because the strength of the United States' military machine had convinced them of American physical superiority. For them, an intensified and expanded program along Japanese lines was viewed as an inevitable development. The Modekngie members who could still remember the German administration (which was romanticized in songs and whose return was predicted throughout the Japanese era) had a basis for believing that it was possible to develop Palau along the lines of the ancienne regime.

From the very beginning, however, the American policy was predicated on indirect rule. In addition, during the time that the United States forces controlled only Angaur and Polilou⁵ and the war was still being fought, military expediency demanded not only a maximum of social control from within the native system, but also a non-violent native population. Thus it became almost inevitable that the first question put to the Palau people by the American naval administrator was, "Who is the chief?" It was held that respect for the channels of native authority would pay the largest dividends. And this has been the consistent policy throughout this colonial period. Furthermore, after a period of American administration, it became apparent that extensive economic development was not included among the objectives of the new administration. The policy was rather one of developing a self-sufficient Palau.

What effect did this new situation have on the various factions in Palau? First, the chiefs, through gratuity, regained power in a situation which permitted the fulfillment of their

5. For a period of about a year (1944-5) United States forces occupied Angaur and Polilou, while the Japanese still occupied Korrer and Babelthaup.

expectations. The exchange and contributory customs were revitalized by them (especially by the high-ranking members of the Udes clan in Melekeok) and this served to benefit the metoet and old people generally. Palau money was declared to possess no fixed value in dollar transactions. The value of the dollar was equated (by the chiefs) with the value of the inflated Yen as of the period in the early forties.⁶ This meant that the foreign money assessments in the exchange customs were out of line with the total volume of dollars in circulation, and funneled those that were in circulation to the top of the class hierarchy. Furthermore, almost by edict, the more strongly integrated clans were able to bring all land under clan control, thus removing its possession from private ownership. Thus, given the new economic situation, the chiefs, metoet and old people generally no longer constituted a deprived group.

Secondly, Modekngie could not vigorously oppose the policies of the new administration because its own ideology conformed to it too closely. The exchange and contributory customs, clan control of land, and traditional inheritance patterns (the primary basis of Modekngie's appeal to the chiefs) were all permitted. At this time, the chiefs not only left Modekngie, but began to oppose it as a pseudo-religion. In a sense, Modekngie was defeated by default, by virtue of the fact that its raison d'etre had been removed.

Thirdly, the economic base which supported the Collaborators in the Japanese era was now lacking. The occupational structure had reverted back to its old form. Young men were now almost exclusively engaged in farming, fishing and crafts. The foreign currency which did enter the native system through this strata of the population was siphoned off through the operation of the exchange customs. Generally, the status symbols and the means for achieving success which were previously meaningful for this group could no longer be achieved. Their definition of the situation could not overlook the significance of the administration's passive sanction of what was occurring in the native economy and they recognized the impossibility of fulfilling their expectations. Because of this, the Collaborators as a faction, began to disintegrate.

Lastly, the Radicals, who perhaps might be regarded as foreigners in their own culture, refused to accept the objective definition of the situation. This group was composed of males in the age range from 20 to 35. At the height of the Japanese period they were in the age range from 15 to 30. For them, the economic system of Palau meant only one thing - capitalistic-industrialism. Mechanical, clerical and business skills acquired through formal education and occupational experience could not readily be cast aside. Those who had spent many years away from Palau spoke Japanese more fluently than they did Palau. The functioning of the various exchange cus-

6. The official United States exchange rate was approximately 20 to 1.

toms could not be comprehended except insofar as they were viewed as an impediment to the type of progress defined by them. Out of this situation developed the program discussed in Chapter IV which called for extensive economic development and social reforms for Palau.

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to analyze those factors - clan and power structures, kinship system, religious structure, and economic structure - in the indigenous system which, as they interact with the alternatives presented by the various colonial administrations, contribute to the rise and development of political factionalism in Palau. In addition to this, the main problem of explaining the particular form of factionalism in the American period was treated. In the latter case, emphasis has been placed on stating the changes in the objective situation and on analyzing the manner in which the members of the various factions defined that situation for themselves, giving rise to diverging orientations regarding the central values and means of achieving these values for Palau society.

Appendix I

HOPE AND THE OBSTACLE OF DEVELOPMENT

(Papers Presented by Sakuma to the Foreign
Administration)

Thirty years ago, in Japanese time, we had a cultural life. Now we have been suffering from Japanese oppressors. Today we are free. I remember the Civil War in America, from which I read in a book when I studied abroad in Japan, six years ago. The book was about setting the slaves free.

Setting the slaves free in this country didn't inconvenience them to make known their intention. The slaves had an excellent leader. Their leaders were men of character and had a sense of responsibility, also they were wise. Their leader didn't think himself of any benefit. But, we do not bear comparison with them. Our leader is not like their leader, our leader doesn't in any respect know the necessity and the importance of a leader. They also forget their duty of execution. In spite of that, they never forget their rights and privileges. In fact, we are in despair for our leaders.

It has only been one year since we have been under the protection of the U.S.A. Is it possible or impossible to develop under such circumstances? I believe the general people in no way agree upon our leader. In other words the most important thing is to change all our chiefs. In the proverb - the melon cannot bear an eggplant and in a like manner - the conservative man never makes a good liberal. I am writing about young men's hopes and how they anguish. Till now our society is a division between the young men and the old men. Any country's society was formed by the free choice of men, but our society was formed by old custom. We are divided into two parts, young men and old men. In fact, the old men hold the authority. We don't like to abide with the old custom. I don't say that all the old customs are not good, for some of them are very good.

We are slaves of our old customs till now and from now on. These customs will never make the five thousand people of Palau happy. Only a small percent of the Palau people are happy by the old custom. The remaining people sustain the great troubles. The young people have been crying their hearts out during the past time. Our chiefs are selected by customs, and all system of society too. The chiefs and the leaders were born in an accidental family line, also obedient people was destined to eternity. We the young people must buffet our way to fortune. The chiefs and their familys accede to all public works and politics. According to the custom, we never select a man who is able and wise; we select a man who is a man of the family, not in the capacity of an able man. I know why the U.S.A. had a war; that was to defend the peace of the whole world, surely that is to set free mankind who are in restrain. Surely the U.S.A. loves the peace that we love too. Peace has come to us, and we have been set free from the great restriction, but we are not set free from the old customs and worn out ideas. We are very happy because Military Government gave us permission for our administration. We offer many thanks for this. I

suppose that would be very dangerous for us because we haven't an Education of politics and we haven't had experience. In many ways we are still children, still we make appearance to ornament by knowing. In fact, we don't know everything. I know the liberty and peace though from great sacrifices from soldiers who died and much blood shed. We have never forgot the great sacrifices. I am lament to pray for the bliss of the dead soldiers, also offer thanks for all the American soldiers and people. I intend to consecrate my life to the cause most fit to democracy. I will do my best in my power. I know the U.S.A. never interferes in other people customs because the U.S.A. people have very much respect for freedom, but I am sure that Palau is a child of the U.S.A. What is most important for a child? I think education is, because the child does not know what is good for him, also his judgment and will is not settled. The child's parents show him a good habit and sometimes use the whip to restrain the child from bad habits.

I wish for Military Government to teach us as much as possible for our society and improvements.

OUR HOPES

(Paper delivered at Korrer school)

Five thousand populations, and there are distinctions between the Northern Palaus and the Southern Palaus. There is also a distinction between young men and old men, but also there is a distinction between the feelings of the people, therefore, most of the young men are very regretful of their lost opportunities. We shall never agree with cooperative, also Palau will never develop in that state. I am sure there is not a country in this world that is not developed without the power of young men. Young men of the Palau Islands are invocation for their mother island, only for prosperity.

To develop is our hopes, but when we know that there are many obstacles in our way for development, we hesitate. We love our island more than any country in the world. I believe there is no other place as well as it, on account of it is our mother island and we want to help and service it with all our might, but Palau is not emancipate with ideal by the general people, also, our will is very weak. More so, we have no houses, and there is not material enough to build them. Nevertheless, all teachers never mind oneself only to teaching children with all their knowledge.

Our leaders think only for themselves, and what they desire from the U.S.A. is only for their profit. When we see that we are very disappointed. We are never disappointed at our island, but all young men are very much disappointed at our leaders. Other hopes is, to have a chief of customs, and we will trust in politics and industry with capacity.

I oppose, but do not oppose for the sake of going against it, but I do hope to bring development. That is the reason why I write this, to make one Palau and all the people can be cooperative. I think that the people desire to choose their leaders.

I am sure that the Government must be for the people, if Palau will emancipate with the people and will make a Government that is hope for all people. I believe that it would be nice and we could service to the way of development.

I am one of many islanders and I write this hoping with all my heart that Military Government will help us in our needs.

Paper Delivered at Korror School

Today we have a more progressing and developing chance than we would have in 30 years of Japanese time. I am sure that we have a happy life in our future.

If possible we would like to replace all our village chiefs. The men who are chiefs now have old ideas and keep the old customs. There are 5,000 people in the Palaus and for young people to try such things is against the stream, but I have made up my mind to do so and all the young people agree with me. I am sure this is the only way to make our island develop.

I know we never will succeed without help and loan from Military Government. I am afraid that officers and American people think that all Palau people haven't any ideas for their island and they only work for their own benefit. The young people do not have the same ideas as the old people. Young people think about their mother island every day.

We never grudge the labor. We never grudge the all power what we have. If we have only to change all the old men from politics, I think that would be most preferable to all in every respect. I desire for Military Government, if possible to help us to reach our hope, also please only to give us permission to pen a young peoples political movement. Please investigate our administration office. We need many reforms today for our office. But we cannot reform without the help of Military Government.

I write with my halore and in fact this is neither my opinion nor idea the many young who will agree with me if this message will become of reference to Military Government.

In confusion I have to state that we have not the reverse idea of the U.S.A. Rather we offer thanks to the U.S.A. that we are free today. We know this is help and favor of the U.S.A.

We young people unite our scrum and sing the emancipate song, march the way of development from now on.

I wish all officers and American people now in the Palaus, the best of health always.